The Outlook

MAY 17, 1916

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF THE WAR: THE SUBMARINE CONTROVERSY

Elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook will be found a summary of the two notes which have lately passed between Germany and the United States following the demand of the United States in its note of April 18 that Germany should cease her illegal submarine warfare. Editorial discussion of the controversy also appears on another page. Berlin despatches of May 10 say that the German Foreign Office now admits unreservedly that the Sussex was sunk by a German submarine, and offers to make reparation to those injured and punish the commander of the submarine.

A new element has been introduced into the situation by the sinking of the White Star liner Cymric off the southwest coast of Ireland on May 9. There seems to be no doubt that the Cymric was struck by a torpedo without warning. She carried no passengers. Five members of the crew were killed; but probably there were no Americans among the victims. It is said that her cargo was wholly or chiefly munitions of war for the British Government. According to the statement of the White Star Line, to which the Cymric belonged, she carried no guns, and under marine law "was simply an ordinary merchant steamer." Although London despatches describe the Cymric as being "on Admiralty service," it does not appear that the ship had been taken over by the British Admiralty or that it was manned or officered by the British navy. Secretary Lansing is quoted in the daily press as saying that the fact that the ship was in Admiralty service (if it is a fact) was not proof that she was not a merchantman. Either the Cymric was an auxiliary war-ship or she was a merchant ship. All the evidence seems to point to the latter conclusion. In that case her destruction is a plain violation of Germany's undertaking as regards submarine warfare in the note sent a few days before the sinking of the Cymric; but our Administration may very probably pass over the incident because of the assumption that the submarine captain who sank the Cymric had not received the new orders. It may be pointed out, however, that the fact that Americans are not known to have been killed on the Cymric does not in the least indicate that the United States has no cause for complaint, for by its note Germany made a distinct promise not to destroy without warning any merchant ships, whether British or not, and that assurance was in the nature of a direct obligation to the United States.

In this connection we may call attention to the statement as to the German reply to the American note made by Lord Robert Cecil, British Minister of War Trade and Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In this several misstatements of fact about Great Britain in the German note are pointed out, such as that the illegal German submarine warfare was a reprisal against the British so-called starvation blockade—the fact being that the British blockade measures were put in force only on March 11, 1915, a month after the German declaration of its submarine war zone blockade. It is also pointed out that the starvation plea by Germany is absolutely inconsistent with the statement by the German Chancellor in his recent address before the German Reichstag as to provisions, that "we have not run short of anything in the past, nor shall we run short of anything in the future."

ACTIVITY ON THE BATTLE LINES

During the week ending on May 7 fighting in the neighborhood of Verdun was marked with violent attacks by the German forces. A Berlin despatch asserts that a million men are engaged in the renewed Verdun fighting. The point at which the fighting was most severe was upon the height known as Hill 304, which is on the west bank of the Meuse and stands nearly opposite the famous Dead Man's Hill, so that the two heights together command a valley and a road through which the German attack from

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the northwest, beginning at the town of Bethincourt, must pass. The Germans have for weeks hammered terribly on this position, but as yet without any decisive result. It must be remembered that even if the position is carried the Germans would then face still another formidable group of fortified hills lying at least three miles from the city of Verdun. Claims were made that Hill 304, or part of it, had been captured by the Germans during the week, but the French declare that they still dominate the position; that most, if not all, of the German gains have been retaken; and that, although enormous numbers of German troops were employed in these attacks, the attacks were in the main broken down by the French fire and cost the Germans serious losses. On the other main point of the German attack—that is, between Douaumont and Vaux—attacks were also made by the Germans, but apparently without serious results.

The great offensive against Verdun has now continued for about three months, without decisive result.

The Russian forces in Asia Minor are reported as moving steadily in the direction of Bagdad and have gained ground also in their movement toward the west, where they are approaching Erzingan. As the spring advances, the Grand Duke Nicholas will be able to bring a still larger army through the Caucasus Mountains, and appearances are that the Russian development of military power in Asia Minor will increase. Some military critics have lately argued that it is in this region that the final decisive results are most likely to be obtained by the Allies, while the western battle-line fighting seems more and more in the nature of a drawn contest because of the facility with which either army can move its forces to repel an attempt of the other to break through. On this theory, the Russian forces in Asia Minor, largely reinforced, will move westward towards Constantinople; and the Allies' forces in Greece, perhaps also largely reinforced, will try to cut the line between Constantinople and Bulgaria.

THE IRISH REVOLT

There have been many protests in America and in Great Britain against the severity of the British Government in its dealing with the leaders of the recent uprising. The Manchester "Guardian," for instance, warmly supports the appeal made by Mr. Redmond, the Irish Home Rule leader in the House of Commons, for clemency. The "Guardian" says: "We can understand that it may have been desired in the first instance that swift punishment should be seen to follow the offense, and that an example should be set and a stern warning given, but this purpose has long since been served." Many papers in the United States which are not in the least in sympathy with the revolt express the feeling that the severity shown in the executions may be injurious to future relations between Ireland and Great Britain, and think that both tactically and from a humane point of view the severity has been excessive.

Mr. W. D. Howells, in a letter to the New York "Evening Post," says: "The shooting of the Irish insurrectionists is too much like the shooting of prisoners of war, too much like taking a leaf from the German classic of 'Schrecklichkeit;' and in giving way to her vengeance England has roused the moral sense of mankind against her. What a pity, what an infinite pity!"

The other side is put concisely by another writer in the same paper:

> These men cannot be said in any sense of the term to represent the Irish people. In fact, the regularly elected representatives of the Irish people unanimously condemn their conduct with abhorrence. They were merely filibusters and, inasmuch as their action has caused the deaths of some hundreds of Irish citizens, murderers. The Government would have failed in its duty to organized society had it not visited upon these leaders the extremest penalty of their guilt. The greatest clemency, however, should be shown to their misguided followers.

On May 9 it was announced that the trials by court martial were at an end. Eleven of the Irish leaders had been executed after court martial, while nineteen others were sentenced to death but had the sentences commuted to imprisonment. Many others doubtless will be imprisoned. Sir Roger Casement is to be put on trial for high treason under the ordinary process of English law. This trial will be held before a jury; and judges of the High Court of Justice will preside over the trial.

The Outlook prints this week, in addition to an editorial surveying the Irish revolt in the light of Irish history, three contributions showing the feeling of the revolutionaries.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

The occasion of Mr. Birrell's forced resignation as Chief Secretary for Ireland, reported a week ago in The Outlook, was

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undoubtedly due to personal lack of aggressive qualities and temperamental inability to act promptly and vigorously in a crisis; but this does not relieve Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet from share in the responsibility. The Chief Secretary for Ireland is nominally under the direction of the Lord Lieutenant, but practically the Secretary takes the leading part in executive and administrative work. For nine years Mr. Birrell carried on this task; and if at last he failed, even his detractors admit that his fault has been mildness and over-leniency in dealing with plotters against the Government rather than tyranny and severity. In his speech of resignation Mr. Birrell admitted having made a false estimate of the Sinn Fein movement. He added a hope that new bonds of union might be forged and that Ireland might come to be a bright spot in the hour of the country's dire necessity. As a political figure Mr. Birrell's reputation will rest largely on his work as Minister of Education in the Campbell-Bannerman Cabinet in connection with the Educational Bill, although he failed to carry the measure.

One result of Mr. Birrell's retirement, it is to be hoped, may be a renewal of his delightful writing. A multitude of readers will not regret the passing of Birrell the statesman if they may have again Birrell the author of "Obiter Dicta" and "Res Judicatæ," to say nothing of half a dozen other books of literary biographies, essays, and reminiscences. As editor of a new edition of "Boswell's Johnson," as author of a "Life of Charlotte Brontë," and in many other ways he has done lasting literary work, but especially his name will remain grateful to lovers of anecdote and epigram because of that peculiar mixture of wit, criticism, and epigram, as in "Obiter Dicta," which came to be known as "birrelling." Some one has said that even his legal text-books and political blue-books sparkled. And all that he has written has good sense as well as lightness of touch.

A characteristic portrait of Mr. Birrell will be found in our picture section this week.

ARE WE LIVING UNDER MARTIAL LAW?

Our readers already know something about the American Rights Committee. It was organized last November to support the right of American citizens to demand the protection of their Government when they are lawfully traveling about their business on the high seas. It protested then, and it has continued to protest ever since, against the Lusitania assassination. Because the German Government has yet done nothing to atone for that assassination, but has committed others like it, the Committee has called upon President Wilson to break off diplomatic relations with Germany. About the middle of March it held a mass-meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, to arouse public opinion in behalf of its protest, and to express its belief that the Allies are fighting for American institutions and that Germany is fighting against them. Organized pro-German sympathizers endeavored riotously to break up this meeting, but the police arrangements were perfect, and the rioters were bodily ejected, after some pretty serious physical struggles.

The American Rights Committee for several weeks has been engaged in planning another mass-meeting, which was to have been held in Carnegie Hall on Sunday evening, May 7, the anniversary of the sinking of the Lusitania. The programme was soberly arranged to be a memorial meeting. There were to be only two speakers, the Rev. R. H. McKim, D.D., rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C., and Professor Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University, New York City. A declaration was to be read, honoring the Lusitania dead and calling upon the American Government to suffer no further delay in bringing about the severance of diplomatic relations.

The call for the meeting was signed by a very large body of citizens of New York, many of them eminent for their public service, who stood sponsors for its purpose and its orderliness. Just twenty-four hours before the meeting was held the Mayor of the city called upon the officers of the Committee and urged them to abandon the meeting. Two reasons were officially given for his action. One was that the meeting would embarrass the National Administration in its negotiations with Germany, and the other was that the previous meeting was the scene of so many interruptions by Germans and German sympathizers, who were ejected from the hall by the police, that the Mayor did not wish to create this tension a second time.

If New York were living under martial law, the Mayor's action ought to be supported by all good citizens. But it is not

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under martial law. Civil rights are supposedly in full force. Only the gravest situation justifies the Mayor in using the influence of his office to suppress a public meeting called in an orderly fashion to discuss a question of National policy. In Russia no public meetings of any kind can be held without the permission of the police, because such meetings tend to embarrass the Czar. Just preceding the Civil War anti-slavery meetings were suppressed because they tended to embarrass President Buchanan. Has German frightfulness affected us so that we are to adopt Russian methods or to return to the futile policy of President Buchanan in the treatment of a National crisis?

The episode may seem to be unimportant to the citizens in the Middle West or on the Pacific coast. If so, we cannot agree with them. We believe it is of the profoundest importance to every American citizen that his right of free speech shall be maintained, and we think it is to the interest of every American citizen to see to it that his National Government protects him in this right, instead of asking to be relieved from the embarrassment of protecting him.

THE MEXICAN EVIL

In characteristic Mexican fashion, the conferences at El Paso and Juarez between delegates of the United States and delegates of the *de facto* Government of Mexico have been discredited by the Mexicans themselves. The raid by Mexicans on the "Big Bend" district of Texas, when three American troopers and two or three civilians were killed, is proof that the conference has not the support of the whole Mexican people, and that there are still many of them who do not recognize Carranza's leadership. If the First Chief cannot keep his people in order while his agents are trying to reach an agreement with us, and while most of the mobile continental army of the United States is near the border or in northern Mexico, what reason is there to believe, what reason is there even to hope, that Carranza could keep Mexico in order after the adjournment of the conference and after the withdrawal of our forces to posts in the interior of the United States?

It is idle to speculate, as some of the newspapers have been doing, as to whether the Mexicans who attacked the little town of Glen Springs were Villistas or Carranzistas. Some witnesses report that they heard shouts of "*Viva Villa!*" Others say that the night air was split with cries of "*Viva Carranza!*" Some say that they heard both these rallying calls. It is true that, whether there were Carranzistas in the raid or not, Carranza is nominally to blame, because the bandits came from a part of Mexico supposed to be thoroughly Carranzista and well garrisoned by the soldiers of the *Primer Jefe*. But it is futile to attempt to hold Carranza responsible, because he is not strong enough to bear responsibility. And it is futile to speculate as to whether the raiders were Villistas or Carranzistas, because the Mexican problem is not so simple as it would be if the country were divided into two camps. There are not only Villistas and Carranzistas, but Zapatistas, Obregonistas, Herreristas, and *istas* of many other stripes. If it be true that the raiders were led by General Rosalio Hernandez, an old Villa follower, as one report has it, then they should be called, not Villistas, but Hernandistas, for the allegiance of the Mexican soldier is ephemeral and entirely personal and he can rarely comprehend loyalty to a cause.

The Glen Springs raid is just one more piece of proof—if another were needed—that our whole relation with Mexico is on an erroneous basis.

We cannot hope that Carranza will catch the Glen Springs raiders for us, for he has not caught Villa, and there is reason to believe that many of the Carranzistas secretly applauded both the attack on Columbus and the attack on Glen Springs.

There is little hope that we ourselves can catch the Mexicans who attacked Glen Springs unless we have intervention, for there will not be men enough available for another "punitive expedition" until this trail, like Villa's, has grown cold.

In the meantime, the conferences between General Scott and General Obregon are continuing up to the time that we go to press, though with less prospect of definite accomplishment than ever.

The mobilization of the forty-five hundred combined militia of the border States of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, and the assignment of four thousand more regulars to the border, are steps in the right direction. But it is a comment on our unpreparedness that military commanders should consider sending our technically trained, mechanically expert specialists of the Coast Artillery to do the work of foot soldiers. It appears increasingly probable that, whether we want to or

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not, we will soon have to do what we should have done long ago, and put Mexico's house in order for her. But even if we are to shun this duty, at least let us protect ourselves. Even if we are still to postpone attacking the root of the evil, at least let us shield ourselves from the poisonous offshoots that grow from the root.

THE COMMON SENSE OF MASSACHUSETTS

While the United States Senate and the House are debating whether or not any step shall be taken to provide an adequate military force under National control, and while the prospect that any adequate programme of defense will be adopted grows dimmer and dimmer, it is worth while recording here one hopeful and forward-looking proposition for which the State of Massachusetts deserves the credit. The Massachusetts Legislature has passed a bill which should receive the attention of all those who are interested in National security. This bill has been signed by Governor McCall and is now law. The general purport of this measure may be learned from the following quotation:

> The Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, is hereby authorized and empowered to transfer any or all organizations, departments, or staff corps of the Massachusetts volunteer militia to such United States volunteer military or naval force, other than the regular army or navy, as the Congress of the United States may at any time authorize. . . .
>
> The Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, may lease to, or permit to be used by, any United States volunteer military or naval force, organized under the laws of the United States, any military or naval property belonging to the Commonwealth.

Properly enough, under the forms of enlistment in the National Guard, these general provisions are limited by the exception that any officer, enlisted man, or organization of militia cannot be forced to enter the Federal service without consent being given. From the information which we have concerning the rank and file of the organized militia in Massachusetts we believe that there will be little hesitation in accepting the opportunity provided for in this Act if Congress, in its wisdom, shall ever make such an opportunity available. If the example of Massachusetts could be followed throughout the country and at Washington, the organized militia would cease to be a State force and would become the backbone of a volunteer force under Federal control. Short of universal training this is the best solution to our problem of defense which can be secured.

THE PRESIDENT AND MR. BRANDEIS

In response to an inquiry from Senator Culberson, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is charged with the duty of reporting on nominations to the Supreme Court, President Wilson has written a letter giving his reasons for sending in to the Senate the appointment of Louis D. Brandeis as Supreme Court Justice. Ordinarily the Department of Justice is asked by the Senate for any papers bearing upon a Supreme Court nomination; but in this case the Department had no such papers, and the request therefore for information was to the President himself.

The President's letter to Mr. Culberson is not only an unqualified personal indorsement of Mr. Brandeis, but a eulogy of him as a man, as a lawyer, and as a publicist. The foremost reason which the President gives for the nomination is his own personal knowledge of Mr. Brandeis. The President named him, he says, "because I knew him to be singularly qualified by learning, by gifts, and by character for the position." The charges which have been made against Mr. Brandeis, the President says, "threw a great deal more light upon the character and motives of those with whom they originated than upon the qualifications of Mr. Brandeis." And he adds that when he considered Mr. Brandeis as a possible member of his Cabinet he himself looked into these charges, "and found that they proceeded for the most part from those who hated Mr. Brandeis because he had refused to be serviceable to them in the promotion of their own selfish interests, and from those whom they had prejudiced and misled." In consulting him on nice questions of honor the President declares he has received from Mr. Brandeis "counsel singularly enlightening, singularly clear-sighted and judicial, and, above all, full of moral stimulation."

The President recounts in his letter the public service of Mr. Brandeis, already reviewed in The Outlook. After declaring that he did not depend upon "indorsement" for his knowledge of Mr. Brandeis, but nevertheless consulted many men in whose judgment he had confidence, the President concludes with a tribute to Mr.

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Brandeis's impartial and constructive mind, his analytical powers, his human sympathy, his American idealism, his sense of justice, his knowledge of modern economic conditions, and his judicial temperament.

As in other cases, the President's vague reference to the opposition as having its source in unworthy motives has occasioned not unreasonable resentment. The phraseology which the President has used does not strictly apply to all those who oppose Mr. Brandeis's nomination, but the general impression which he gives tends to put honest, as well as dishonest, opposition into the same category. This is unfortunate, and will be deplored by the friends of the President and of Mr. Brandeis as well as by those who honestly regard the nomination as unsuitable. On the other hand, the President's strong, courageous, and unqualified defense of Mr. Brandeis ought to be received with respect by those who are opposed to the nomination, as well as by those who hope to see Mr. Brandeis confirmed.

It is highly unfortunate that this nomination has been made the subject of a controversy that has been accompanied with much vague innuendo and personal attack. A great deal of the criticism of Mr. Brandeis, even from those who are honestly opposed to him, will tend to create the impression among many of the plain people of this country that the man who devotes high legal ability incisively and successfully to the defense of the public interest is subjecting his reputation to a greater peril than that incurred by lawyers who are not over-scrupulous in devoting their high legal ability to the protection of special interests. It will be hard to erase this impression from many minds. No real good has been accomplished and much harm has been done by carrying on this investigation in public.

The Outlook hopes that Mr. Brandeis will be confirmed, and it also hopes that the hearings in the case of the Brandeis nomination will not serve as a precedent for the future.

MR. FAIRBANKS AND THE PRESIDENCY

A responsible correspondent in Indiana asks why The Outlook, in its consideration of the pre-nomination campaign, has ignored ex-Vice-President Fairbanks, and urges upon us the claim that Mr. Fairbanks is a very real factor in the situation. His supporters in Indiana make this claim, not merely on the ground that he is a "favorite son," but because they believe that he has certain qualities that entitle him to National consideration. Our correspondent points out that all the other prominent Republicans talked of as candidates embody or represent serious factional conflicts. To quote our correspondent's own words: "Massachusetts talks about Weeks and McCall; New York talks about Hughes, Root, and Roosevelt; Ohio talks about Harding and Burton; but Indiana talks only of Fairbanks." Our correspondent adds that the reasons why Indiana Republicans are a unit for Fairbanks and insist that he will be an important factor in the Convention may be briefly set down as follows:

1. He is a harmonizer. While he supported Mr. Taft in 1912, he was in no way identified with the steam-roller tactics that were so offensive to the Progressives. The State delegation, which is composed of both the Old Guard Republicans and Progressives, is the best indication of this.

2. He is a conservative, but not a reactionary. The Republican party will adopt a platform of progress, and both personally and as a party man Mr. Fairbanks will accept that programme.

3. He is a man of the highest personal integrity, and if elected he may confidently be expected to associate with him in the administration of the Government other men of integrity.

4. He believes in party government, and, if elected, will be a party man in the best sense of the word.

5. He is well equipped to deal with foreign affairs. McKinley placed him on the Anglo-American Joint High Commission for the successful settlement of questions of controversy between this country and Great Britain growing out of the relations with Canada. He has actively served on the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, as a Senator and Vice-President presiding over that body, and he has had wide foreign experience as a traveler.

If the Republican Convention in Chicago in June is to be conducted along the lines of Republican conventions in the past, and a man is to be nominated because he can carry this or that State and can adjust party differences, or because he is free from personal quarrels and antagonisms, we should agree with our correspondent that Mr. Fairbanks must be regarded as an important factor.

But if the Convention is to be a deliberative convention, to deal with the greatest National and international crisis that this country has faced since the Civil War, it will

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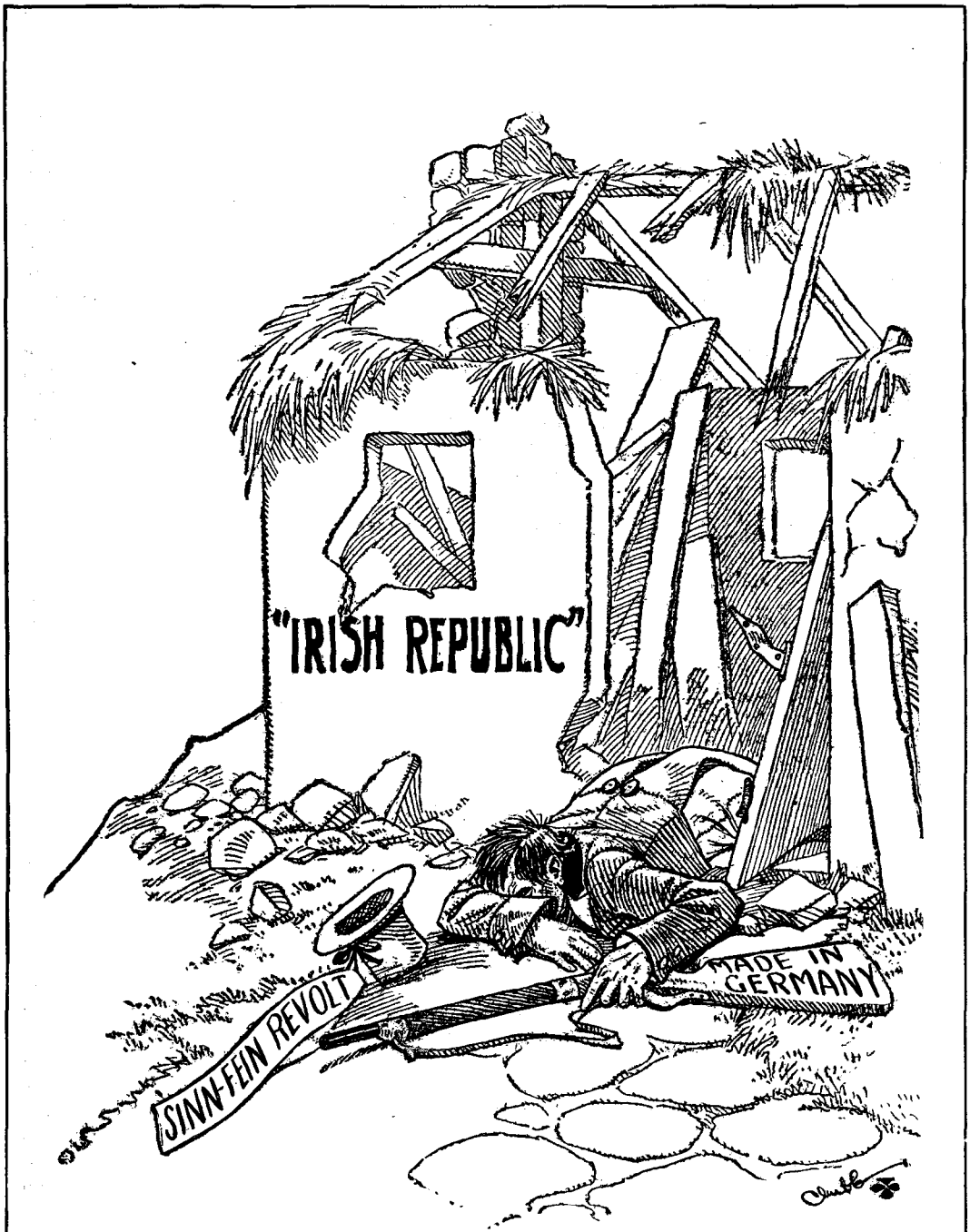
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Chubb in the Rochester Herald



SURRENDERED!

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Cesare in the New York Sun

COMING TO CONGRATULATE HIM

Kirby in the New York World

PINCHED

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select a man because he is resolute and qualified to meet international complications and to defend American rights. On this basis, we do not think Mr. Fairbanks, in spite of his personal integrity, his political experience, and his party service, will be a factor. A Republican of his type might have been nominated, as Mr. Harrison was nominated, in 1888, but we do not believe that a Harrisonian compromise will be made in 1916.

OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL MURDER

That editor who during a Presidential pre-nomination campaign should endeavor to correct all the erroneous criticisms of the various potential candidates would have to work at least twenty-four hours a day. But occasionally there appears a criticism which has such a bearing on historical fact that it is worth while for a journal of current history, like The Outlook, to deal with it in the form of what the Kansas City " Star " recently called " an historical foot-note."

Of such a nature is the misstatement recently made by the New York " Evening Post," and repeated in the New York " World," regarding Mr. Roosevelt's relation to the assassination of American citizens while he was President. In his recent address before an important assembly of Methodists in New York City, Mr. Roosevelt said that while he was President " not one man, woman, or child was slain by representatives of any foreign nation." Whereupon the " Post," turning to the records, found that a number of American citizens had been killed on foreign soil during Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency, that in one case the survivors had demanded the protection of a military force, and that that protection was refused. The " Post " and " World " proceed to ask: In view of these unquestioned records, how are we to regard Mr. Roosevelt's statement? Our reply is that it must be regarded as absolutely accurate. In every instance named by these two journals the Americans were murdered by private assassins, not by representatives of any foreign nation. On the high seas and in Mexico American citizens have been assassinated by official representatives of other nations. Carranzista soldiers under arms, under military discipline, and wearing the uniform of the lawful Mexican Government recognized by President Wilson, have killed American citizens. And on the high seas naval officers and sailors wearing the uniform of the German Empire and acting under the German Imperial standard have assassinated American citizens. The cases of murder quoted by the " Evening Post " and the cases of murder to which we have just referred are as far apart as the poles, and are as unlike as the minus and plus signs in mathematics.

If a band of riotous Hamburg dock workers had seized an ocean-going tug and under the black flag of piracy had attacked a merchant vessel on the high seas and killed American citizens, and President Wilson had carried on a diplomatic correspondence with Germany about the murder, and Mr. Roosevelt had criticised him for his patience, there would then have been some justification for the alleged parallel of the New York " Evening Post " and the New York " World." The trouble is that this country is not yet waked up to the fact that murders of Americans in Mexico and on the Lusitania were committed by *representatives* of Mexico and Germany, and are therefore official murders. It is this distinction between official and unofficial murder which American journalists who have any regard for historical accuracy ought to keep in mind.

NEW YORK'S "FINEST"

What was otherwise the most reassuring police parade New York City has ever had was marred by an accident. A policeman, dressed like a thug, after snatching a handbag from a police matron, who was " in the play " like himself, was running toward the reviewing stand containing the Mayor and the Police Commissioner, where he was to have been knocked down and captured by a police dog, also trained for this little drama, when a plain-clothes man, who had not been informed of the make believe nature of this by-play, drew his pistol and shot the pretended thug through the jaw. Patrolman Christopher Reilly, who was shot, will recover, it is now believed, although he will probably be scarred for life. Even he, however, joins the general verdict that holds the man who shot him, Detective Sergeant John J. Kilroy, not to blame. Reilly held a smoking revolver in his hand as he ran toward the Mayor, and to those who had not been pre-informed it certainly seemed that Reilly was about to attempt the assassination of the city's chief executive.

Blame for this unfortunate event, which was almost a tragedy, has been promptly taken

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by Police Commissioner Woods upon himself and the higher departmental officers who erred in believing that such a play could be safely staged in a crowded city street when it was impossible to forewarn all the members of the force. The purpose of this exhibition was to show off to the public the valor and ability of the police dogs, but even the accident itself served one good purpose in showing the vigilance and quick action of the police, for Kilroy's vigilance and quick action would have thwarted a real assassin.

Otherwise, as we said before, the parade was admirable. The eleven regiments, ten of "infantry" and one of "cavalry," that are New York City's first line of defense, all looked fit and in fighting mettle as they swung down Fifth Avenue, and later, before the reviewing stands, performed their special stunts, forming the famous "arrow" and "wedge" formations for crowd-breaking, rescuing with a bicycle ambulance a bicycle "cop" who suddenly "fainted," and going through the calisthenics of the police training school with beautiful precision.

Commissioner Woods has built up a force to be proud of, a force that really deserves the sobriquet "the Finest," which not so long ago was a mockery. For it was not so long ago that the whole country was turning in revulsion from the revelations of corruption among New York's police, and the uniform was everywhere looked at with suspicion in the metropolis. But the applause that shook the windows on Fifth Avenue the other day proved that New Yorkers now believe in the honesty of the great bulk of their police, and believe, above all, in the bravery of the entire force. For, whatever they are, New York's policemen are fine athletes first of all. The loose-jowled, bag-shaped policemen who used to be common in New York were conspicuous by their absence in this parade of tanned, tight-muscled civil soldiers. And to no one is so much honor due for this transformation as to Commissioner Woods.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

It is the proud boast of New York University that it makes a dollar go further in the education of young men and women than any other institution of its class in the country. In fact, Chancellor Brown says: "This University is educating a larger number of students in proportion to its annual income than any other of the great universities of the country, and a larger number in proportion to its resources than any other not receiving public support. . . . We are making a dollar go too far. The strain of economy, of personal devotion on the part of instructors, of administrative management and makeshift, cannot go much further."

It is not often that a university complains that it is growing too rapidly, yet that is the complaint of New York University. In the attempt to slacken this growth the University authorities increased the severity of the entrance requirements, but in vain. They are now advancing the tuition fees, reducing the number of free scholarships, and cutting off advertising, but still the army of young men and women clamoring at their gates for an education grows by leaps and bounds. In October, 1912, the total registration of students in New York University was 4,428. By October, 1915, it was 6,932, an increase of fifty-seven per cent. The University is now seventh in numbers among the universities of the country.

New York University at the time of its founding in 1831 was remarkable for the breadth of its aim. Nearly all the professorships that are included to-day in the faculties of the nine schools of the University were included in the original plan. Even the School of Pedagogy, the first of its kind in the country, was anticipated in the scheme of the founders.

The present predicament of the University is caused by the comparative smallness of its endowment. With about 7,000 students it has an endowment of only about $1,500,000. Columbia, with 8,000 students, has an endowment of about $17,000,000. According to the University's budget for the college year 1916–17, the total expenditures will be $762,880.63, of which $612,840 will be taken care of by students' fees for instruction. This leaves only about $150,000 to be met by income from all other sources, yet so small is the endowment interest that a deficit of $39,579.13 is predicted. Only the Law, Commerce, and Summer Schools pay their way.

The University authorities are asking for an increased endowment of about $1,600,000. But they are putting the immediate stress on the request for a fund of from $250,000 to $275,000 for a new building of Physics and Engineering. Already this term it has been necessary to exclude forty-eight students from some of the laboratory classes.

Believing that actions will speak louder

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than words in voicing their own recognition of the great need for this new building, a number of students have already declared their intention of beginning at once to dig the foundation of the building themselves. Certainly such zeal in the pursuit of education deserves encouragement.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COLLEGE AT SPRINGFIELD

The attention of young men should be drawn to the opportunities for them at Springfield, Massachusetts, where the Young Men's Christian Association College is about entering a new phase of its history. When the College opens for the 1916–17 year in September, the students will begin a four-year course instead of the three, and the College will be unique in more elements than ever.

This College trains students physically, mentally, socially, and religiously in preparation for Christian service, particularly in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association. While the Association work as carried on in the Far East or in Africa or near the trenches of Europe during the present war or in the slums of our great cities shows the desirability of preparatory courses on the psychology of peoples and nations, social and political problems, economic resources and industrial and commercial activities, business administration, educational and religious institutions, and the extension of Christian culture, the Springfield courses are particularly noteworthy on the physical side. Most colleges have courses in gymnastics; this college has courses in medical gymnastics also which consist of instruction in the exercises that tend to correct physical defects and disorders. The exercises include, first, those to change the position of the thorax, shoulders, and spine, and to correct pronated feet or prolapsed viscera; the second, those to reduce fat, to increase vitality, and to overcome nutritive debility; finally, those to overcome such disorders as constipation, cardiac weakness, and the various paralyses due to such things as locomotor ataxia or infantile paralysis.

It is, however, in field science that we find a greater departure from traditional educational ideas. The physical course includes the organization and conduct of canoe trips, "hikes," camp craft, and Boy Scout work. No college, so far as we know, has entered this particular field.

THE IRISH REVOLT

Sometimes when a great fire has been extinguished and all danger has apparently disappeared there breaks out a new flame, showing that unextinguished embers are still slumbering unseen. Such was the latest Irish revolt, a result of centuries of race and religious hostility and of monstrous, though not inexplicable, misrule. The Irish and the Anglo-Saxon are temperamentally hostile; that hostility has been aggravated by religious animosities between the Protestant Anglo-Saxons and the Irish Roman Catholics and by vicious and cruel rule and vicious and cruel revolts succeeding each other ever since the conquest of Ireland by the Anglo-Norman in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics which deluged Europe in blood in the sixteenth century had as one of its incidents an Irish revolt against the rule of Charles I, accompanied by a massacre of non-resisting Protestants, with circumstances of incredible barbarity, and followed by the punitive campaign of Cromwell, as cruel as the revolt which it punished. That his were the ordered cruelties of an army, not the disorderly cruelties of a mob, is an aggravation, not an extenuation, of the crime. The only extenuation possible is that they were characteristic of an age which produced the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France and the bloody campaign of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. The subsequent attempt at revolt under the leadership of the Roman Catholic James II, with the aid of French forces, after his flight from England, was defeated in the Battle of the Boyne under William III, and was followed by a policy of persecution, not as barbaric as that of Cromwell, but not less unjust—the forfeiture of more than a million Irish acres, the deliberate discouragement of Irish industries, the appointment of English favorites to sinecures and pensions both in Church and State paid for out of Irish taxes levied on a bankrupt community. "The conquered people," in Swift's bitter words of contempt, "became 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to their conquerors."

Such a policy may suppress revolt, but it can never break the spirit of a brave people. For the time being Ireland ceased to be a source of political danger to England. But the continued industrial oppressions of the Irish people under the Georges and the

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impotency of an Irish Parliament which had neither the will nor the power to represent the people, kept alive the spirit of discontent, and when the American and French Revolutions awakened again popular aspirations for liberty, the revolutionists of Ireland saw their opportunity. Expecting promised co-operation from an invading French force, as recently the Irish revolutionists expected co-operation from an invading German force, the standard of revolt was again set up. The French fleet was wrecked by a storm as the Spanish Armada had been wrecked two hundred years before, the Irish fell to fighting among themselves, and the unsupported revolt was speedily quelled.

But at this time England had at the head of her affairs a great statesman. Pitt introduced into the English Parliament a bill establishing absolute free trade between Ireland and England, which would have opened all English markets to Irish products. In spite of fierce opposition from English manufacturers and merchants, he carried this bill through the English Parliament, only to see it rejected by the Irish Parliament, an act of folly impossible to defend and difficult to explain. Ireland might well include in her liturgy, From our professed friends, good Lord, deliver us.

There have always been two parties in Ireland, one for union with England on something like equal terms, the other for independence. Ireland with a Parliament which represented only a corrupt oligarchy possessed in 1800 a *pseudo* independence. Pitt resolved on a policy which would look to a *real* union. He resolved to bring the Irish Parliament to an end and have Ireland represented in the English Parliament, as Scotland and Wales are represented. Two courses were open to him: to disband the Irish Parliament by force of arms, or to bribe it to commit suicide. He resolved on the latter course. Some of the members he bought with money, some with offices, some with peerages, some with promises which were never fulfilled. No historian questions the wholesale corruption, and no historian justifies it. The only apology is that furnished by John Richard Green in his "History of the English People:" "Base and shameless as were such means, Pitt may fairly plead that they were the only means by which the bill could have been passed." We cannot, however, doubt that this abolition of the Irish Parliament was itself a real boon to Ireland. By its demise that Parliament demonstrated its moral incapacity to govern. Whatever excuses can be offered for the policy of Mr. Pitt, forced upon him by the circumstances, none can be offered for the majority members of a legislative body which sold the rights of its constituents intrusted to its keeping and its own responsibilities to the Irish people for payments in offices, honors, and gold.

From the day of the Act of Union dates a radical though very gradual change in the policy of the English toward Ireland. It must always be a question whether this change was helped or hindered by the Irish irreconcilables. For, on the one hand, England changes her policies very gradually, and it is doubtful whether any of the Irish reforms which followed the Act of Union would have been granted if the grant had not been necessary to quiet a restless people whose discontent was at times a menace to English prosperity and always a menace to English repose. But, on the other hand, the characteristic refusal of the Irish leaders, with rare exceptions, to co-operate with those English liberals who were really desirous to substitute a policy of justice for one of repression, and their inability to comprehend the political difficulties which the liberals had to encounter from English traditionalism in their endeavor to induce the English people to do justly, have made the work of the English liberals exceedingly difficult.

The injustices under which Ireland had suffered for centuries may be classified for our purpose here under five heads: Industrial, Religious, Educational, Agrarian, and Political. The century which has followed the Act of Union has witnessed effective steps taken by the English Government for the correction of all these abuses.

England up to the American Revolution had governed all her colonies for her own benefit, not for theirs; Ireland furnished no exception. Her commerce had been discouraged, her manufactures paralyzed by legislation deliberately adopted for that purpose. It is always easier to kill business than to reanimate it, and Ireland has not yet recovered from injuries inflicted by centuries of injustice. Nevertheless, honest, persistent, and not wholly ineffective efforts have been made both by legislation and by private enterprise to rehabilitate her industries. All restrictions on industry and commerce with England have been repealed, and free trade has opened English markets to Irish producers. Prominent

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among the private efforts are those made by Sir Horace Plunkett to improve agricultural methods and by Lord and Lady Aberdeen to encourage mechanical industries, especially in the homes.

Anti-Catholic legislation inherited from the bitter conflicts between the Roman and Protestant Churches in Queen Elizabeth's time had imposed on the Roman Catholics both in England and in Ireland intolerable disabilities. Whatever excuse the unscrupulous activities of authorized representatives of the Papacy in England may have furnished for the anti-Catholic legislation at a time when the authority of the English throne and the liberties of the English people were threatened, that excuse no longer existed. But abuses continue after the causes which have produced them cease. The Act of Union could probably never have secured the approval of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland if promises had not been made that it would be at once followed by an Act of Catholic Emancipation. The failure of the Government to fulfill these promises, due partly to the obstinacy of the King, justly aroused the indignation of the Irish, nor was it until nearly thirty years later that, despite Tory opposition, legislation was enacted which put Catholic and Protestant on an equality before the law.

There still remained another religious cause of irritation. An overwhelming majority of the Irish are Roman Catholics, and they were compelled to support by their taxes the Established Church of England, which rendered them no service and which they abhorred both because of its (to them) heretical doctrines and because it was the Church of the hated Englishman. It took another forty years for the slow-moving English mind to conclude that the cause of religion is not promoted by forcing a reluctant people to give it their support. But at length, in 1869, under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, himself a devoted Anglican, this injustice was remedied by the disestablishment of the English Church in Ireland.

England has been very slow to recognize the need of universal education for a free people. That it made no provision for popular education in Ireland is not surprising, since it made none in England, but it was no small cause for Irish discontent that it forbade the Roman Catholics from providing for the education of their own children. Catholics could not be teachers without being guilty of felony; parents could not send their children abroad for education without forfeiture of their property and their citizenship. Such teaching as was given at all was given clandestinely. These penal laws have now all been abolished and a common-school system has been established providing for the education of children of all classes and open to children of all denominations in which no pupil is required to attend any religious exercise and all children are afforded an opportunity to attend such religious exercises as their parents or guardians desire.

Successive steps have been taken to redeem Ireland from the curse of absentee landlordism, which has been one chief cause of its poverty. There is here no space to narrate these successive steps in detail. By the individualistic and self-supporting American they have been often criticised as Socialistic. It is enough to say that by them the tenant is entitled to compensation for the improvements which he may make in a rented property, may appeal to a commission to determine what is a fair rent for him to pay, and can borrow on advantageous terms from the Government the money to buy the land he cultivates at a price which the Government fixes; and this is accompanied by a provision for building laborers' cottages for such as are not able to build or buy for themselves.

The political problem still remains unsolved—of all English problems the most difficult and perplexing to the English statesman. That problem may be briefly stated thus: How to give to the Irish people the control of their own local affairs without endangering the integrity of the British Empire.

To the American this seems a comparatively simple problem. We have solved it by a Federal system allowing home rule to each State and reserving for the United States only those matters of a common concern. But in no one of our States does there exist any such condition as exists in Ireland. The animosity between the Roman Catholic Irish in the South and the Protestant Irish in the North is greater than the animosity in either section of the Irish to the English. The Irish are not united in their desire for Home Rule. In 1703 the Irish begged for that legislative union which in 1800 was granted to Ireland, and it is very doubtful whether now anything more than a small minority of the Irish desire independence. It is certain that Mr. Bonar Law truly expressed the sentiment of the Orangemen of

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the North when he said that they would rather be governed by a foreign power than by an Irish Parliament. But the advocates of an Irish Parliament will not consider any proposal for a divided jurisdiction, and those who advocate independence will not consider any proposal for a limited jurisdiction. Nevertheless successive English statesmen have attempted to provide some form of Home Rule for Ireland which will be satisfactory to all factions. Gladstone tried it in 1886, and split his party in twain. He tried it again in 1893, met great opposition from enthusiastic Unionists in Ireland, and was defeated in the House of Lords. Mr. Asquith tried it again in 1912. It was this trial which provoked the hostility of the North of Ireland to such an extent that a volunteer army was raised to resist Irish Home Rule if the bill should become a law, and a million and a half of dollars was raised to support any relatives of volunteers who might be wounded or killed in the fighting which they believed was sure to come. Various attempts at compromise were made between the Irish factions supporting and opposing this measure, which was, of course, far removed from independence, and no result had been reached when, on the first of August, the breaking out of the great European war postponed for both England and Ireland any further consideration of the so-called Irish question. But it was only postponed, and there is every reason to believe that the purpose of the Liberal party in England to provide some adequate measure of self-government for Ireland by an Irish Parliament is not weakened. We think ourselves justified, however, in saying that the Irish question is the most difficult and perplexing of all English political questions, since if England grants Home Rule it will have to face a revolution from the North of Ireland, and if it refuses Home Rule it will have to face a revolution from the South.

This brief history may help the impartial reader to form a judgment on the question whether the recent Irish revolt was justifiable. If cruel memories of past wrongs justify revolution, the executed leaders may be honored as martyrs. But memories of past wrongs do not make revolution right. Three conditions must concur to make it right to resort to so perilous and terrible a remedy: Present practical injustice, no hope of peaceable remedy, and a reasonable ground for the expectation that the revolution may be successful. These three conditions existed in our American Revolution. Our Declaration of Independence recited the practical injustices under which the colonists were suffering and the futile attempts they had made to secure a remedy by peaceful measures. The result of the Revolution demonstrated that their expectation of success was not unreasonable. None of these conditions existed in the case of Ireland. The Irish are not now suffering from intolerable injustice; the history of the past century demonstrates the reasonableness of the hope that the union with England effected in 1801 will eventually bring her both liberty and justice. Her appeals to the English people have not been made in vain. There was no reasonable ground to hope that the revolt attempted by the irreconcilables could succeed. They represented only a fraction of the Irish people, and probably only a minority of them, and if they could by any possibility have succeeded, the history of the past and the conditions of the present give no reason to hope that they could cope with the difficulties of the Irish situation as profitably for the Irish people as the present Imperial Government in which the Irish people are represented. The leaders in such a revolt are not entitled to American sympathy. While their Irish brethren were bravely fighting in the trenches for world liberty against a military barbarism which threatened civilization they joined hands with the enemies of that civilization. They have suffered no injustice in paying with their lives for an act as treacherous to the Irish people as it was to the English Government.

But history will, we believe, pronounce the English Government guilty of a double blunder. It knew the excitable temperament of the Irish people. It knew how much had recently occurred to inflame their easily inflamed passions. At a time when Ireland needed an experienced, sagacious, and strong statesman at the head of its affairs, the English Government appointed as Chief Secretary one whose chief distinction was his ability to write charming essays. Under his inefficient administration the revolt was allowed to assume perilous proportions. And the prompt and vigorous action which six weeks ago might have sufficed to prevent any attempted revolution will now have at least as one of its effects the creation of a public sympathy among the Irish people both at home and abroad for those whom we fear

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they will be led to regard as martyed leaders in an episode which will constitute a new count in the Irishman's indictment against England.

AFTER THE ULTIMATUM

Germany has murdered our citizens—not once only, but repeatedly. For a year we have been politely requesting her not to murder our citizens any more. Germany has also interfered with our goods and our mails, not merely by detaining them, as England has done, but by destroying them. This, however, we have almost forgotten because her campaign against our goods and our mails has been overshadowed by her campaign of murder. She has pursued against us her policy of frightfulness. In diplomatic language she has warned us to keep out of her way if we did not wish to get hurt. All this she has done with impunity.

With this nation we remain on amicable terms. With her we are still exchanging diplomatic correspondence. Only last week, under the hand of the American Secretary of State and by authority of the American President, we sent her another note. We still call her our friend.

During all this time there has been ample ground for breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany. The nation that tears into scraps any treaty that stands in her way, that burns and hacks her way in such a land as Belgium, that makes war on non-combatants, that torpedoes merchant vessels without warning, that acts on the assumption that necessity knows no law, makes of herself an outlaw among nations. To cut off relations with her would have been simply to refuse to recognize barbarism.

The Administration has declined to sever diplomatic relations with Germany on this ground. It has, however, stated to Germany on what ground it would sever diplomatic relations. In the note of April 18 the Secretary of State told Germany that this Government would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with her unless the German Government "should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels."

These two grounds for breaking off relations with Germany are distinct.

One is the general ground that Germany has chosen a course which unfits her for relations with civilized peoples. This is the ground on which the American Rights Committee urges our Government to cease friendly relations with Germany. The other ground is a limited one—namely, the refusal of Germany to give a specific pledge. This is the ground on which the Administration warned Germany that it would be prepared to break off diplomatic relations.

By implication, according to the Government's ground, if Germany gives and observes the pledge required, formally friendly relations will continue. The Outlook believed that Germany could not give that pledge, for it would be a repudiation in one field of the policy which she has pursued throughout all the fields of the war. It would have been perfectly easy for her, if she wished to give that pledge, to make it distinct and explicit, and frame it in the words in which it was demanded. This she has not done. Instead, she has sent a reply skillfully phrased to give a self-contradictory impression. A large part of her reply is evidently designed to persuade her own people that she is not yielding; the rest of it is phrased to give the impression to this Government that she is yielding. She informs us that the German naval forces have been instructed that merchant vessels "recognized by international law" (whatever that phrase may mean) shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempts to escape or offers resistance. The German Government, however, couples with this the demand that we should make certain demands upon Great Britain, and that if Great Britain does not accordingly modify her course "the German Government would then be facing the new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of action."

There is thus but one question now before our Government concerning diplomatic relations with Germany: Has Germany given the pledge demanded? President Wilson has decided that she has given that pledge.

We believe that she has not given the pledge and did not intend to give it.

We have been asking for assurances from Germany that she will not put American lives in jeopardy. If this means anything, it means that when an American husband puts his wife and children aboard a vessel to cross the Atlantic he will be *sure* that no German submarine will attack that vessel without warning. Nothing that Germany has said in her reply can make such an

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American sure of the safety of his wife and children.

We have demanded of Germany an *abandonment* of her submarine warfare against merchantmen; the most that she has offered in return is a *suspension*.

We therefore do not agree with the President that Germany has acquiesced in our demands; and we also therefore believe that even on the ground which he himself has stated Germany has given us good cause for breaking off diplomatic relations with her. On this point we believe public opinion in this country will remain divided.

On one point, however, public sentiment will be overwhelmingly with the President. In its reply to Germany our Government states, in effect, that the United States cannot allow Germany to shift to Great Britain responsibility for German misconduct. Whatever dispute we may have with Great Britain is our business, not Germany's. The neutrality of the Government of the United States is in its own keeping. The United States cannot allow Germany to make the safety of American citizens against German outrages conditional upon what some other nation may do.

As the situation now stands, we are just about where we were before. At any time Germany may resume what she calls her "complete liberty of action," a German submarine may attack a peaceful merchantman, American lives may be lost. Will that mean the severance of diplomatic relations or will it mean more investigations and more notes?

The German Government has been carrying on a war upon non-combatants, and specifically upon American non-combatants. What the German Government now proposes in its reply is an armistice. There is no doubt in our mind that the reason for this armistice is that the German Government is watching the course of the Presidential campaign. If the political situation favors Mr. Wilson, the German Government knows what policy it will pursue. If it favors Mr. Root, it will pursue a different policy. If the political situation favors Mr. Hughes, it will pursue another policy. And if the political situation favors Mr. Roosevelt, the German Government, which knows Mr. Roosevelt, will pursue a policy different from either of the others. The German Government has managed to maintain itself in outwardly friendly relations with the United States and can now watch the course of events.

THE WILSON FOREIGN POLICY

"Whatever else you may say about Wilson, he has kept the country out of war."

This is the popular summary of President Wilson's foreign policy, and it is exact. The key to President Wilson's foreign policy is to be found in four words—keep out of trouble.

We suggest that our readers keep this in mind as they read the answers which were given to the questions of our staff correspondent, Mr. Davenport, and which are printed on another page. Those who will keep this in mind will find the Wilson foreign policy consistent; and those who accept as true the assumption that their Government's chief business is to keep out of trouble will find the answers to Mr. Davenport's questions convincing.

It is clear from these answers that it is on this basis of keeping out of trouble that the Administration will appeal for support to the country. It has been frankly a policy of Safety First.

This will explain the legal argument about Belgium. A peaceful country, averse to war, was suddenly invaded by Germany, in plain violation of a convention signed by both Germany and the United States. What should the United States do? The answer of the Administration is, "Keep out of trouble." So the Government has recourse to the extraordinary argument that Belgium was not merely a neutral country, under the Hague Convention, but a neutralized country under a special treaty, and when the Germans entered Belgium and by force of arms destroyed her neutrality (leaving to her simply her neutralization!), we were released from all obligation. This amounts to saying that the more solemn the guarantee, the less safe it is. If a small country is defended by the Hague Convention, it is comparatively safe; if it is defended by the Hague Convention and by a special treaty, it is in greater peril. It is the reverse of the old rule that two negatives make an affirmative; for, according to this argument, these two affirmatives make a negative. This is the sort of argument that appeals to the lawyer who wants to find legal ground for keeping his client out of trouble.

"Keep out of trouble" is the key that will explain the long-drawn-out succession of notes to Germany about the way she has murdered Americans and other non-combat-

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ants on the high seas. As each fresh murder has been committed, the Administration has found some new point on which the discussion could be prolonged. It has now become no longer a question of murder and piracy; it has become an involved legal argument about defensive armament, burden of proof, and other legal niceties. And as the crisis becomes acute and an ultimatum is sent, the Government puts out another note raising a new question as to when an armed merchantman "possesses a *status* tainted with a hostile purpose." And the defense for all this is frankly that "notes are very tiring to that section of the people who desire action, but the Administration to-day has the record of having kept the country out of war."

So with regard to Mexico. The object of the Government has not been to protect American life and property, not to eradicate the dangerous contagion of anarchy on our border, but to keep the country out of trouble.

By the same key can be explained the Administration's Philippine policy. The Philippines were troublesome wards, therefore get rid of them. The proposal to withdraw from the Philippines is not a proposal to observe an obligation, but a proposal to keep out of trouble.

It is the same key that will unlock the Administration's Asiatic policy. "Let sleeping dogs lie."

There is another way of looking at the duty of the Government in foreign relations. It puts, not safety first, but justice first. According to this other view, the chief duty of the Government is, not to avoid trouble, but to do justly to others and see that others do justly to it. If in doing that the Government can avoid trouble, well and good; but, trouble or no trouble, it is the Government's business to practice justice and to insist upon justice from others. There is precedent for this view of the Government's duty. General George Washington did not appeal to the country for support on the ground that he had kept it out of trouble. The Illinois rail-splitter, Abraham Lincoln, is not honored to-day on the ground that he kept the country out of war. The reason why Washington and Lincoln are National heroes is that they put something besides safety first.

To those who have the point of view of Washington and Lincoln our duty with regard to Belgium, with regard to submarine warfare, with regard to Mexico, and with regard to the Philippines has been very simple and very plain. The policy of avoiding trouble has been a policy of evading duty.

GERMANY'S SUBMARINE WARFARE

THE GERMAN NOTE AND THE AMERICAN REPLY

IN the preceding editorial The Outlook discusses the continuation of the long diplomatic correspondence between the foreign offices of Germany and the United States with regard to Germany's illegal submarine warfare, first announced by Germany in February, 1915, and vigorously repudiated as contrary to international law and humanity in President Wilson's "strict accountability" note, written more than a year ago and before the sinking of the Lusitania.

It will be remembered that in the American note of April 18, sent almost simultaneously with President Wilson's address before Congress, these words were used: "Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

THE GERMAN NOTE

It is in reply to this demand that, after over two weeks' consideration, the German note of May 5 was published. We here summarize that note, with direct quotation of the most important passages.

1. As to the Sussex, Germany is "alive to the possibility" that a German submarine destroyed the Sussex. If it so prove, Germany "will not fail to draw the consequences resulting therefrom."

2. Germany "emphatically repudiates" the charge of "indiscriminate destruction of vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destina-

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tions," and declares that it has ordered submarine officers to observe "the principles of visit, search, and destruction," except as regards "enemy freight ships" in Germany's declared war zone around Great Britain. It believes these orders have been carried out, allowances being made for "errors," loss of ships by mines, and so on.

3. Germany has now "decided to make further concession, adapting the methods of submarine warfare to the interest of neutrals."

4. But before it states this concession the note in defense of German conduct declares:

It was not the German Government, but the British Government, which, by ignoring all the accepted rules of international law, extended this terrible war to the lives and property of non-combatants, having no regard whatever for the interests and rights of neutrals and non-combatants, which through this method of warfare have been severely injured. In self-defense against the illegal conduct of British warfare, while fighting a bitter struggle for national existence, Germany had to resort to the hard but effective weapon of submarine warfare.

Then follows a passage which has been widely resented in America as bitter and arrogant:

As matters stand the German Government cannot but reiterate its regrets that the sentiments of humanity which the Government of the United States extends with such fervor to the unhappy victims of submarine warfare were not extended with the same warmth of feeling to the many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intention of the British Government, shall be starved, and who, by their sufferings, shall force the victorious armies of the Central Powers into ignominious capitulation.

The note continues at great length (more than half the entire space is given to the subject) to argue that Great Britain has repeatedly violated international law at sea, and that the United States should have prevented this, instead of which "the German people is under the impression that the Government of the United States, while demanding that Germany, struggling for existence, shall restrain the use of an effective weapon, and while making compliance with these demands a condition for the maintenance of relations with Germany, confines itself to protests against the illegal methods adopted by Germany's enemies." Moreover, it is said, Americans are sending munitions to the Allies, and therefore appeals for humanity to Germany "cannot meet with the same hearty response" which they otherwise might have. Nevertheless, "the German Government, conscious of Germany's strength, twice within the last few months announced before the world its readiness to make peace on a basis safeguarding Germany's vital interests, thus indicating that it is not Germany's fault if peace is still withheld from the nations of Europe."

5. Then at last comes the "concession" in these words:

In accordance with the general principles of visit, search, and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared to be a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning, without saving human lives, unless the ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

6. Following the "concession" is that which has generally been regarded here as what lawyers call a "condition precedent." We quote in full:

But neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, abandon the use of an effective weapon if the enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States repeatedly declares that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas from whatever quarter it has been violated.

Accordingly the German Government is confident that in consequence of new orders issued to the naval forces, the Government of the United States will now also confer [evidently meaning "see to it"] that all impediments are removed which may have been in the way of mutual co-operation toward the restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war, as are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government December 26, 1914, and November 5, 1915.

Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires—to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations—the German Government

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would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision.

THE AMERICAN REPLY

On May 8 Ambassador Gerard was instructed to lay a reply before the German Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is signed by Mr. Lansing, and, omitting formalities, is printed entire below:

It is especially noted, as indicating the purpose of the Imperial Government as to the future, that it "is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents" and that it is determined to impose upon all its commanders at sea the limitations of the recognized rules of international law upon which the Government of the United States has insisted.

Throughout the months which have elapsed since the Imperial Government announced, on February 4, 1915, its submarine policy, now happily abandoned, the Government of the United States has been constantly guided and restrained by motives of friendship in its patient efforts to bring to an amicable settlement the critical questions arising from that policy.

Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government, such as will remove the principal danger to an interruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany.

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction.

In order, however, to avoid any misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants.

Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

In a separate statement the Secretary of State declares that "in our dealings with the British Government we are acting as we are unquestionably bound to act in view of the explicit treaty engagements with that Government." This refers to the arbitration treaty with Great Britain. Such a treaty might not apply to a continuing menace to American lives, but in the questions between us and the British Government there is no such menace involved as there is in the case of German submarine warfare.

PRESS COMMENT

The comments of American editorial writers on Germany's promise are in interesting contrast to the comments which greeted a similar promise last fall. In September, after one of the American notes, the German Government promised not to torpedo "liners" without warning, and American newspapers broke into a chorus of jubilation at the great diplomatic victory of the American Government. Now Germany has made a much broader promise, not confining it to liners, but extending it to merchantmen recognized by international law; but there is no longer any fulsome praise for American diplomacy. The editorial writers are not ready to celebrate again a victory in advance. The majority of newspapers take the view of the President, that Germany's note is equivalent to an acquiescence in our demands, but there are a great number of newspapers which see in the conditions attached to the German so-called "concession" a virtual negation of the pledge.

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THE IRISH REVOLT

In printing the following contributions—an article by Mr. MacManus, a poem by Thomas MacDonagh, and a letter by Mrs. Moore—The Outlook is endeavoring as well as it can in a brief space to give its readers some impression of the spirit, character, and purposes of the radical Irish revolutionists whose uprising has just ended in such tragedy.

Mr. MacManus is well known to Americans as a writer and lecturer on Irish subjects. He was educated in Donegal and became an Irish village schoolmaster, but soon turned to literature, and has written and published many stories, poems, and plays. We do not know where Americans can get a more accurate or more delightful impression of Irish rural and village life than in his volume "Yourself and the Neighbors." Mr. MacManus was a personal friend of Mr. Padraic Pearse, who was the Provisional President of the Irish Republic, and therefore the most responsible figure in the recent Irish revolt in Dublin. Padraic Pearse first became interested in the Irish political movement through his profound interest in the Gaelic revival in that country. He became a thorough Irish scholar, and took a prominent part in the literary side of the Gaelic revival. Thus it will be seen that Mr. Pearse's first interests in Ireland were those of a scholar and a lover of Irish literature. Although a young man at the time of his death, he had traveled through Europe studying the various educational systems, and came back and established in Dublin a few years ago a boys' secular school, the chief function of which was to promote a spirit of Irish patriotism and a love of all things Irish among the pupils. Mr. MacManus describes him as a man of singularly gentle, sweet, and noble character and personality.

Thomas MacDonagh was one of the seven leaders of the Irish insurrection who signed the Declaration of Irish Independence. He was shot to death in the Tower of London on Wednesday, May 2. He was Assistant Professor of English Literature in the National University, Dublin. He had published four books of verse: "April and May," "Through the Ivory Gate," "Songs of Myself," and "Lyrical Poems." A play of his, "When the Dawn Is Come"—dealing, by the way, with an Irish insurrection of the future—was produced in the Abbey Theater. He wrote a book on English verse, "Thomas Campion and English Metrics."

Mrs. Moore is a woman of Irish birth, but has lived for several years in America and is a graduate of Columbia University; she is a sister of Francis Hackett, who has achieved no little distinction as a writer and critic, and who is one of the members of the editorial staff of the "New Republic."

That imagination and a simple idealism, which takes little account of the human difficulties that must be met in a spirit of compromise in all political relations, furnished the chief motive power in the recent uprising in Dublin is, we think, indicated by the tone, spirit, and rhetoric of the Irish contributions which we here present to our readers. An editorial showing the relation of this revolt to the history of the struggle for freedom in Ireland is printed elsewhere in this issue.—THE EDITORS.

I—IRELAND'S CASE (PARTLY)

BY SEUMAS MACMANUS

AS I pushed back my chair from the dinner-table last night my telephone rang, and the kindly voice of the editor of The Outlook came over the wire asking me if I could give to The Outlook, in fifteen hundred words, the views of the Irish—revolutionists (he purposely refrained from using any derogatory term) and of myself. Feeling grateful for the philological leniency, I gladly consented.

He suggested that I treat the subject under three heads, and asked me three questions.

First, he asked, What fundamental injustice of British rule do the Irish revolutionists complain of?

The all-sufficient reply, for any thinking and freedom-loving American, should be, BRITISH RULE.

If the editor, emerging from The Outlook's office, discovered a prostrate little man violently struggling to throw off the grasp of a brawny big brute, and he, in all seriousness, asked the little man what fundamental injustice of the large gentleman's protectorate he complained of, a look of pained surprise would undoubtedly sweep over the little man's countenance the while he emitted language unsuited for The Outlook, but the gist of which would be a query as to why in heaven the big brute should undertake to "protect" him.

I know there is a multitude who will agree

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

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FIREMEN DECORATED BY THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

America has had no recent occasion to bestow military medals like those which have been issued in unprecedented numbers in Europe since the war began, but she has her civic heroes. Twenty-five of these heroes of peace were recently presented with medals by Mayor Mitchel, of New York. The picture shows the Mayor pinning the Hurley Medal to the breast of Clarence A. Walsh, who distinguished himself in saving life at a disastrous factory fire

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

NEW YORK'S MAY DAY PARADE

The first of May has for several years been set apart in New York City as a fitting time for a labor parade. The unsettled conditions in many lines of industry in that city this season lent special interest to the recent procession. Strikers this year led the parade, taking the place of honor from the Socialists. From twenty to thirty thousand men and women are estimated to have been in line

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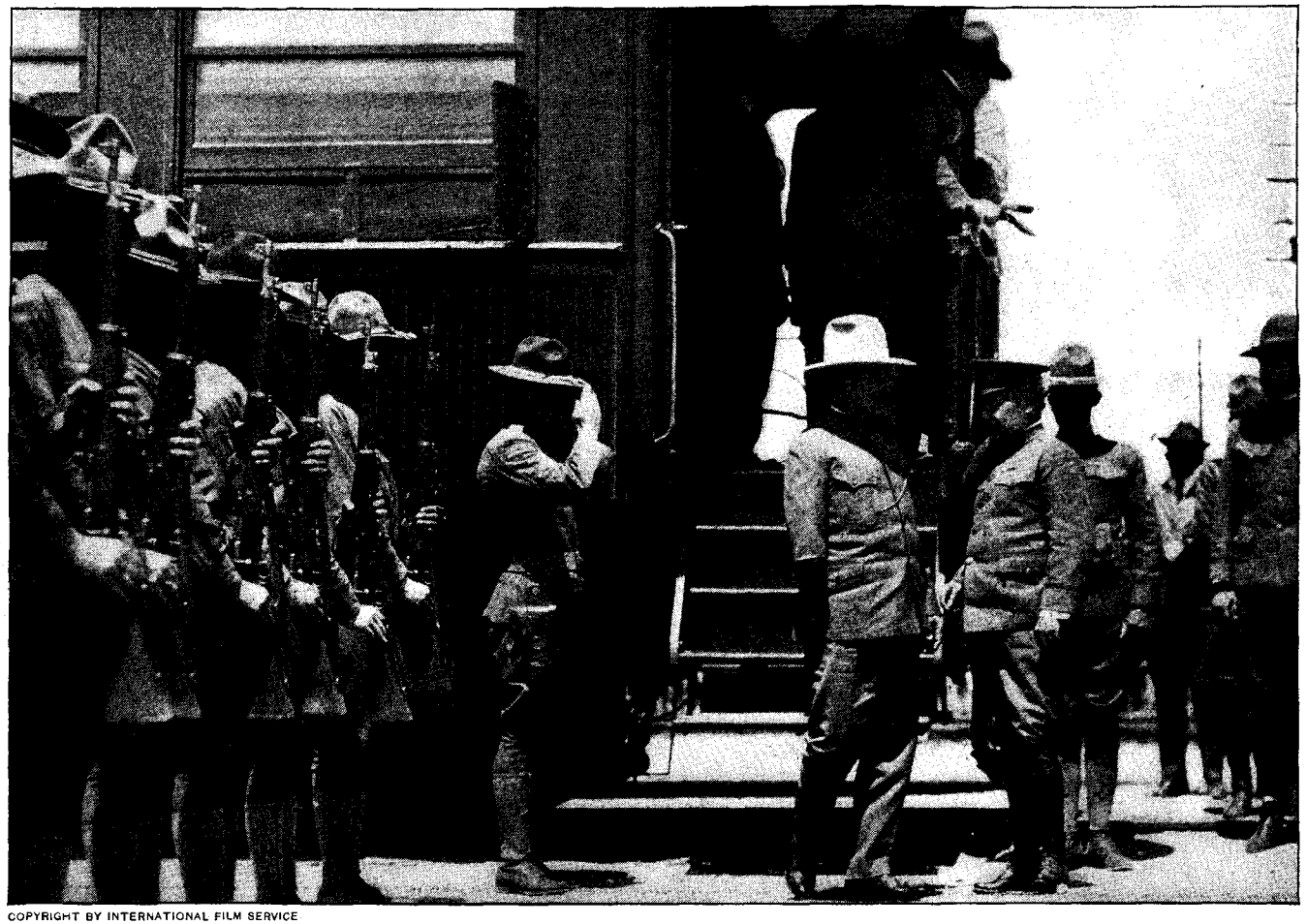

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GENERAL OBREGON AND GENERAL FUNSTON IN CONFERENCE AT JUAREZ, MEXICO

Carranza's War Minister, General Obregon (he may be recognized by the armless sleeve) stands near the car steps, at the left of General Funston

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PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN KABEL

THE PLAY HOUR AT THE COUNTRY SCHOOL

With the coming again of pleasant weather, school-boys and school-girls everywhere are happy in the possibilities of outdoor recreation. Our picture represents a scene in central Ohio, but it might be matched in many another section of our country

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PHOTOGRAPH BY G. V. BUCK

WOMEN CAMPERS GET THE BENEFIT OF MILITARY EXERCISES

The photograph shows a scene in the National Service School Military Encampment, near Washington, D. C., where many women have been getting lessons in "preparedness" for a soldier's life which will be helpful to them in developing habits of efficiency and co-operation even if they never see the "tented field" except in times of peace

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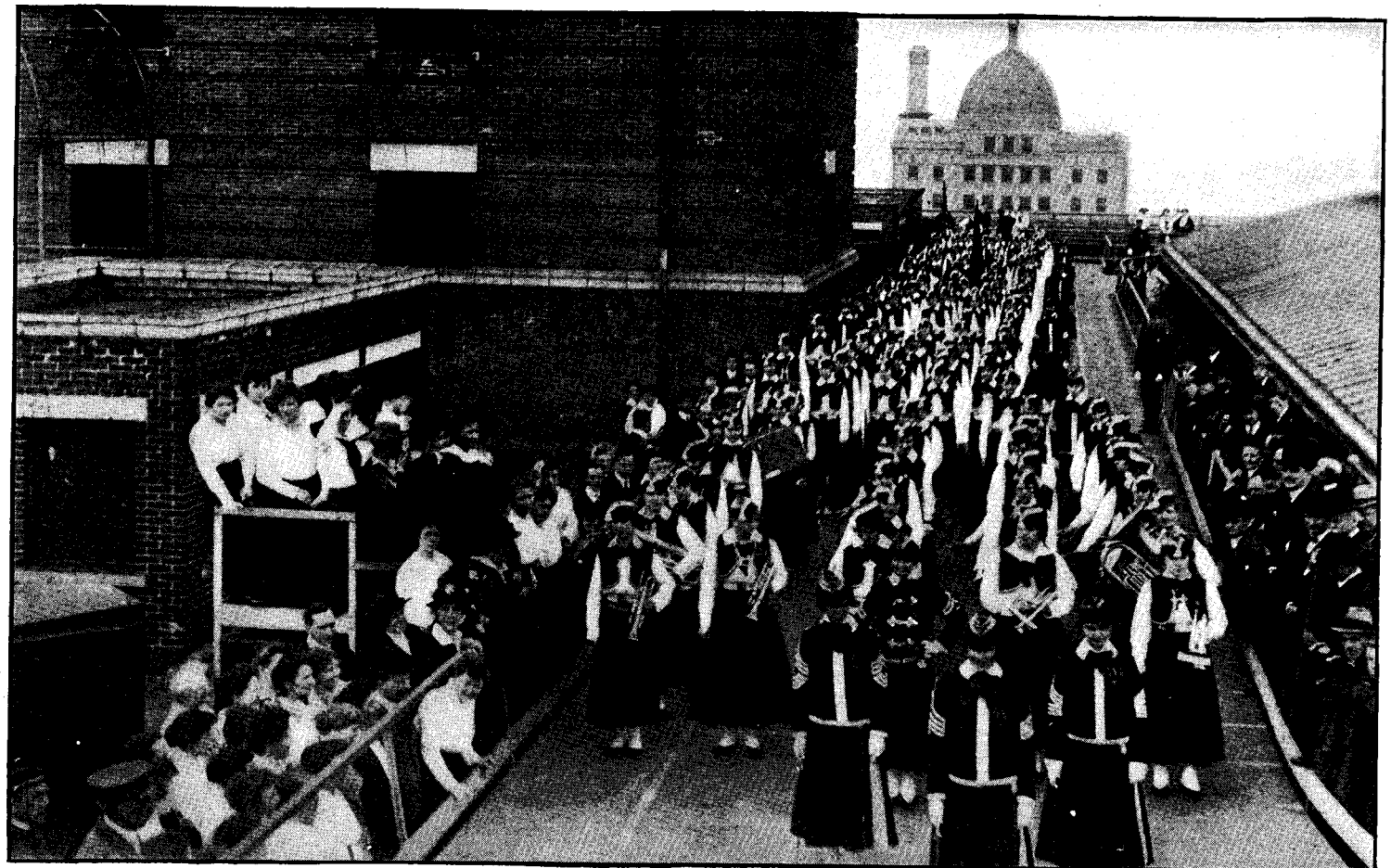

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THE "PREPAREDNESS" SQUAD OF A GREAT DEPARTMENT STORE

Two weeks ago we published a picture of a number of young men, employees of a great life insurance company, who were spending part of their lunch hour in practicing military evolutions on the roof of the building in which they work. Above is pictured an extension of the same idea as evolved by the women employees of a well-known department store in Philadelphia

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, LATE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND

See editorial comment on Mr. Birrell's personality, and on his literary and political career

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with the big brute that the little fellow is all right, and the big fellow all wrong, within a certain time limit—for instance, if the big fellow has trampled on and tried to control the little fellow for seven minutes only—for seven hours only—or even, maybe, for seven years only. But, as in the case of England and Ireland, the right and the wrong of the matter change places when the big fellow has prolonged the little fellow's agony for seven centuries ! Among the most earnest and high-minded men in many American universities where I have gone to lecture, I have, strange to say, found this astounding view. And found these high-minded men, too, when going to denominate the still struggling little fellow, considerately pause to choose a word that should not seem derogatory !

If Outlook readers and myself set absolutely no value upon one of the greatest and noblest principles in the world—the God-given right of all peoples to be free (which the great-great-grandfathers of many of the aforesaid readers gladly laid down their lives for)—then I, as a mere materialist talking to mere materialists, might answer the question by saying that British rule in Ireland in the present era is so vile, cruel, and autocratic that even the most sordid materialist might be driven to arms—that even the followers of the betrayer Redmond, who pretend to shout for England to-day, hate English rule with rabid hate. An English and Anglo-Irish bureaucracy autocratically and tyrannically misrules Ireland from Dublin Castle even as Russian serfdom is not misruled. Economically, these fellows eat the vitals out of Ireland—and morally strive always to destroy her soul. Irish-hating judges, assisted by Irish-hating (Anglo-Irish) "packed" juries and Irish-hating Crown prosecutors, administer the "law" in such disgraceful manner that all Irishmen have long since instinctively ranged themselves on the side of the lawbreaker.

Russia in any of its crushed dependencies does not maintain such an elaborate spy system as Ireland is netted with. There are hundreds of Irishmen who for long years have been "shadowed," practically day and night, and every move of theirs for every day of long years kept on record in Dublin Castle. When, for instance, I arrive home in Ireland, a detective receives me on the pier, and I am under complete surveillance from that moment to the moment I take my departure for this side of the water again.

"Free" speech is under the control of any police officer any time, anywhere, and he can use the most extreme measures to enforce his will. Men are imprisoned or shot down for daring to insist upon this right. Even the philosophic Mr. Balfour by secret telegram (afterwards discovered) commanded an intimidating force at an anti-landlord mass-meeting: "Do not hesitate to shoot." Which, as attested by four more Irish funerals, they did not. And fifty unarmed men, women, and children shot down in Dublin streets by British soldiers, one month before the war began, attested still that all the sporting privileges are the conqueror's.

Agents provocateurs are provided in all corners of the country. Sergeant McSherrys, in special districts, mutilate cattle and swear away, therefor, the liberties of innocent men; and, when discovered, are quietly and quickly, at Government expense, hurried from Ireland and from justice.

Men are imprisoned for such treasonable conduct as replying in Irish to a policeman, putting their names on their carts in Irish, looking at an English official with (as sworn in court) "a humbugging kind of a smile," and for the *lèse majesté* of "winking at my pig in the public market-place" (the outraged swine being the property of an English landlord's bailiff).

A royal commission appointed by Parliament discovered that $1,250,000,000 in taxes (principal and interest) over and above her just due had been taken from Ireland during the last century. And the English Treasury publicly said, "We are sorry," buttoned up its fob, and proceeded at once to increase Ireland's taxes at a still more frightful pace.

All of these and a thousand other injustices I might urge as justifying revolution, if I and you were mere materialists. But the fact that Ireland is Ireland and England is England is reason sufficient for men who cherish the fundamental principles on which nationality and freedom rest.

In the second place, the editor asked, Why would you not rather be content with autonomy or federation—such as Canada has—instead of struggling for complete independence ?

This is mighty like lecturing a starving man on the superiority of *pâté de foie gras* over beefsteak. The hungry one might well ask, "But where is your *pâté de foie gras ?*"

To the suggestion that we should voluntarily agree to be coerced into the British Empire as a self-governing part, the material-

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minded man might very well answer: (1) There is no autonomy in sight. "Home Rule," so called (on the shelf and under sentence to be beheaded for the Orangeman before the cadaver is given to the Irishman), with its provision that England would still retain all control of the very little which is left of Irish trade and industries—and retain complete control of Irish taxation—is a huge joke. (2) It is as practicable to yoke the plow horse and the race horse in the same team as it is to yoke the English and the Irish nations. It would be as practicable to federate a conquered France into the German Empire as it is to federate conquered Ireland into the British Empire. We are as far apart as the poles in race, creed, and color, body, mind, and soul, methods, manners, ambitions, and ideals.

Every one of your vile and greedy big Trusts in this country is terribly anxious to federate the little independent fellow in with him. And when the little independent fellow boldly rebels and goes down "futilely" fighting, all true Americans applaud him. How wide you would open your eyes if I suggested that America should be happy to federate into the German Empire! After you recovered from the shock some of the brightest of you would remember to say, "Oh, but Germany hasn't conquered us!" But, I come back, Supposing Germany had conquered you?

For the answer to question No. 2, then, look within your own American, liberty-loving heart: or ask even Obregon or Villa whether they prefer federation with the United States to complete independence.

We Irish seek complete independence because we are men almost as brave, almost as spiritual, almost as intelligent, as the English; and having, under God, the same right to decide what we shall do with our land, as Americans with America, Cubans with Cuba, and Englishmen with England.

The editor's third and last question was: Why did the Irish revolutionists seize for their work the present critical moment when, if Germany wins, she will force her social and ethical, intellectual and political, bonds upon the whole world?

Without pausing to marvel at England's phenomenal success in making thinking men in America swallow her estimate of her deadly enemy and of that deadly enemy's "system," I shall answer:

(1) If you, a weak little man, are struggling against a great, big bully, and the bully is suddenly attacked by his equal, do I understand that your ethical instincts would prompt you gallantly to help the fellow who was thrashing you, against the intruder, or even politely to stand aside till your bully, having got rid of his enemy, had time to devote his complete and undivided attention again to your annihilation?

(2) With regard to the rival systems—the British and the German—let us hark back to that hungry man that we left unfed a while back. You tell this poor wretch, "There are two fellows, John and Fritz, contending for the job of bread-agent-at-large to the whole world. Fritz's bread is mighty unpalatable to real epicures. John's bread, on the other hand, has a superior flavor—a fine, nutty flavor, in fact. We want you to help us get the job for John. We admit that, till this contest arose, we, getting enough ourselves, never bothered about you. But, fine noble fellow that you are, forget that. We need you now. Rub the rust off your bread-knife, up and follow! On, on, for John and his nutty bread!"

The hungry wretch will make answer: "Friend, why bother me about which bread tastes best on your tired tongue? What I want is BREAD. I am going to win a way to make my own. I did make my own once. And I served the world with it, too. But my God-sent protector, the Friend and Champion of all weak people, came to my house—and behold me now!

"Now I want bread—black bread—war bread—pretzels! Any but the bread of bitterness that has been poisoning my veins through the ages, till the flesh has withered from my bones, and the world, as it goes by, stops to point and whisper. I want bread, bread! and I'll have bread! And the preferences of your *blasé* palate are of small concern to a man dying of starvation."

That answers the third question. And those are some whys of endless Irish uprisings.

His honest English countenance beaming with that blissful smile which the wolf wore on quitting Red Riding Hood's grandmother's house, John Bull, on his apron, is now leisurely wiping Rebels' blood from his butcher's knife, and feeling free to sally forth again, in the name of England, God, and civilization (*tail of right eye turned westward*), to avenge all oppression that is manufactured in the workshops of his trade rival.

But Something stalks behind, John. Something stalks behind—drawing nearer, nearer, these days. And It heads a multitudinous

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shadowy host. IT goes by a Greek name. THEY are the ghosts of the murdered ones from earth's ends whose liberties you ravished, whose hearths you desecrated, whose lands you stole, and whose red heart's blood you gulped. The ghosts of twelve very beautiful young men, and terribly earnest, from an Isle of Sorrow in the ocean have just joined the avenging host.

Of no avail now to draw closer round you that old threadbare cloak of hypocrisy. The hour is striking. It is time to pray.

II—WISHES FOR MY SON

BORN ON ST. CECILIA'S DAY, 1912

BY THOMAS MacDONAGH

Now, my son, is life for you,
And I wish you joy of it—
Joy of power in all you do,
Deeper passion, better wit
Than I had who had enough,
Quicker life and length thereof,
More of every gift but love.

Love I have beyond all men,
Love that now you share with me—
What have I to wish you then
But that you be good and free,
And that God to you may give
Grace in stronger days to live?

For I wish you more than I
Ever knew of glorious deed,
Though no rapture passed me by
That an eager heart could heed,
Though I followed heights and sought
Things the sequel never brought:

Wild and perilous holy things
Flaming with a martyr's blood,
And the joy that laughs and sings
Where a foe must be withstood,
Joy of headlong happy chance
Leading on the battle dance.

But I found no enemy,
No man in a world of wrong,
That Christ's word of charity
Did not render clean and strong—
Who was I to judge my kind,
Blindest groper of the blind?

God to you may give the sight
And the clear undoubting strength
Wars to knit for single right,
Freedom's war to knit at length,
And to win, through wrath and strife,
To the sequel of my life.

But for you, so small and young,
Born on Saint Cecilia's Day,
I in more harmonious song
Now for nearer joys should pray—
Simple joys: the natural growth

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Of your childhood and your youth,
Courage, innocence, and truth:

These for you, so small and young,
In your hand and heart and tongue.

—*From Lyrical Poems. Published in 1913.*

III—REVOLUTIONISTS AND IDEALISTS

The Outlook's attitude towards the Irish revolt is the conventional one of many American newspapers, and is for that reason hardly as philosophical as one would expect in The Outlook. The ordinary American says, "The poor fools of Irish! why do they trouble themselves—and us—with a revolt?" He forgets that his own forebears were once in precisely the same case as the Irish. Why did not such "poor fools" as Washington and Adams cheerfully accept the tyranny of the British? Why did they take advantage of France's antipathy to Great Britain to get her aid in their rebellion? Why do not the Belgians and the Servians accept their present lot as subject peoples with cheerful resignation? Why the universal longing of distinct races for independence from coercion by other peoples?

Can you doubt that in a fair plebiscite of the Irish people a vast majority would elect to be free from British rule? Why, then, as Americans who once felt the hardships of that rule, are you so unsympathetic towards an attempt to realize the ideals of the American Revolution? Is it because you favor a different form of the Christian religion from that of the majority of the Irish people? Surely not. Is it because the attempt, as you say, was "hopeless"? Do you, then, counsel meek submission on the part of the Belgians and Servians to their German conquerors? On the contrary, would you not praise as "heroism" any attempt, however futile, on the part of the Belgians to overthrow their masters? Why, then, scorn an Irish attempt of the same sort?

The fact is that we too easily forget that the British are an overbearing, masterful people whose rule we could not ourselves abide. Have they not in many cases, indeed, pursued the same ungenerous course toward their enemies that we protest against in the Germans? Can we forget the British vandalism, equal to that of Louvain, which destroyed our National Capitol? the shooting of the captive Mogul princes, the last of their line, in India? the petty persecution of Napoleon, the greatest of England's foes, at St. Helena, with the dubbing of him as "General Bonaparte"? These qualities of the British have shown themselves perennially in Ireland. In addition, at present that island is borne down with taxation worse than the Stamp Tax which brought on the American Revolution. Why should not the Irish have taken the opportunity to revolt? They failed for lack of money and aid, just as America would have failed but for French aid in 1781. But why deny the legitimacy of the Irish provocation and the validity of the opportunity?

These Irish revolutionists were idealists. They lacked judgment. They certainly might better have died with their swords in their hands than to have surrendered to be shot down ignobly without mercy, as if they were in Mexico. But why condemn them for their aspiration for freedom for their race? Why not honor them, as sharers of the glory of Andreas Hofer, of Arnold von Winkelried, of Patrick Henry, of John Brown, of Catherine Breshkovsky—of all the great company of idealists who have striven, whether successfully or unsuccessfully, for the boon of racial freedom?

KATHLEEN HACKETT MOORE.
Brooklyn, New York.

[We do not condemn the Irish republicans merely because they were rebels. Washington was a rebel, and we honor him for it. We do not condemn the Irish republicans merely because they sacrificed their lives in a forlorn hope. So did Leonidas, and his name is illustrious in history. We do not even condemn the Irish republicans merely because they attempted the utterly impossible—the impossible has been too often achieved. We condemn them because in the hour of Ireland's greatest need and largest opportunity they had not the vision to put aside the bitter memory of ancient wrongs nor the wisdom to choose the surest path to the liberty and freedom for which they were willing to die.—THE EDITORS.]

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THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

BY P. H. W. ROSS
FOUNDER OF THE NATIONAL MARINE LEAGUE

Once to be seen floating over all the seas, the American flag is now a stranger in foreign ports. The people of the United States are dependent upon aliens to carry and deliver their goods to other lands. The war has shown us how hazardous the present situation is. The best way to find out what the situation is and what ought to be done about it is to go to an authority on the subject. For that reason we have asked Mr. Ross, the President of the National Marine League of the United States of America, to answer some questions. We print our questions and Mr. Ross's answers herewith.

Mr. Ross's point of view is not that of a mere theorist, but of a man of affairs who is heart and soul an American. Born in Bombay, India, he has had experience in many parts of the world. The holder of a degree from the University of Oxford, he began his practical experiences at the age of seventeen, in the Bank of England, where he worked for seven years. Roused by the reading of Mark Twain's "Roughing It," he determined to go out into new countries. With only six weeks' study in a Polyglot Institute, with the aid of his school Latin he managed to learn Portuguese, and thus prepared himself to take a thousand Portuguese laborers from the Azores to the sugar plantations of Hawaii. This experience of ordering the lives of nearly a thousand human beings for five months was invaluable to him. There was a mutiny on board, over eighty of the laborers died of fever, and all manner of things happened on the long voyage down the North and South Atlantic Oceans, round the Horn, and up the Pacific Ocean to Honolulu.

For a year Mr. Ross was in the British Vice-Consulate, and there learned a good deal about the problems of mariners. For six years he was assistant manager and accountant on a large sugar plantation, and at the end of that time, besides thousands of acres of sugar-cane, the plantation had stores, a church, a school, a remarkable wharf cut down through three hundred feet of cliff, a railway system, a water works system, and an electric light system—all this on a plantation in mid-Pacific between 1883 and 1889. Then, having become thoroughly Americanized in Hawaii, he moved to the State of Washington, at once became a naturalized citizen of the United States, and subsequently organized the oldest bank in his county. For twenty-two years he was one of the builders of the Northwest.

His experience on the Pacific coast impressed him with the wonderful maritime possibilities of the country. After a thorough investigation, he wrote a book dealing with maritime affairs. As a result of requests for addresses elicited by the publication of this book there was evolved the National Marine League of the United States of America, of which he is the President. It is to this League that Mr. Ross is now devoting all his time. The League has a perpetual charter, granted in Washington, D. C. There are branch offices in Boston and New York, and branches will eventually be established in all the large cities of the country.—THE EDITORS.

IS the question of building up a merchant marine something that interests only the sea-coasts?

On the contrary. It is a question that directly affects the daily prosperity of every laborer in the country, irrespective of where he may live or what his occupation or fortune may be.

How can the building of merchant ships affect the people of Ohio or Arkansas?

Our mills can make in six months as much as the country can consume in twelve. Mill hands in those States cannot have a steady job unless the things that they make, either with their hands or by the aid of machinery, are sold as regularly as they are made. Since the home market cannot absorb the full output of these mills, it follows that a large export trade must be developed. It is an absolute impossibility to develop an adequate export trade unless we have our own ships to carry those products to other countries. We must remember that all our exports, except those sent to Canada and Mexico, have to be carried in ships.

But how about the farmer? Is he interested?

The farmer's best market is in the United States, and just in proportion as the non-farming population of America can purchase the farmer's products, to that extent is the farmer most benefited. And, furthermore, the same reasons apply to the export of agricultural produce, such as cotton, tobacco, etc., as to the manufactured products already mentioned.

To what extent does a merchant marine help in securing our National safety?

This is best answered by the speech of Lord Inchcape a few weeks ago. He stated

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that prior to the war Great Britain possessed no naval auxiliary ships, no hospital ships, no transports for troops, no colliers, no vessels for carrying munitions, horses, camels, or other supplies. Why did the Admiralty have none of these vessels? The answer is, because it had more sense. For years it had been keeping track of every vessel in the merchant marine. It knew exactly where these vessels were, and also knew that it could put its hand upon them the moment they were wanted, and that they could be obtained for governmental or national purposes at a moment's notice and at a very reasonable cost to the Government. Meanwhile these auxiliary forces were being maintained without a farthing's expense to the Government, and the ships were peacefully following the avocation of trade, to the great and enduring benefit and profit of the Nation itself. Thus you see that Great Britain's merchant marine constituted, not only a second line of defense, but was of itself an integral part of her first line of defense—the royal navy. For example, the British Government summoned five thousand wireless telegraphers from her merchant marine for military and naval purposes. I should like to know where Uncle Sam could get five hundred from the American merchant marine!

Would the merchant marine help to train men who would be useful for their nation's defense?

The history of the world has proved that there is no other agency in existence that can be compared to a training at sea for developing the virility and manhood of a nation's youth. To-day the dangers and excitements of frontier life have vanished, and, with the exception of Alaska and the Philippines, there is probably no United States territory left wherein young America can exercise its virility as it has done for the last fifty years. Once there was an ardent future for ardent spirits; to-day there is none unless we develop the merchant marine which will carry not only products but American ideas and American ideals all over the world. There are thousands of active young chaps who crave adventure, and the life of the sea is just the sort of life for them.

But are we not doing very well as we are without a merchant marine?

In reply to that question let me quote President Jefferson, who, in 1793, said of navigation:

> Its value as a branch of industry is enhanced by the dependence of so many other branches upon it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that at its proper level; and in times of war—that is to say, when those nations who may be our principal carriers shall be at war with each other—if we have not within ourselves the means of transportation, our produce must be exported in belligerent vessels at the increased expense of war freight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that must perish on our hands.

We have a pretty good example of that right now.

But war, after all, is only an episode, and after this war, why can we not go on as we were before the war?

The reason is because American exporters are the paymasters of American indebtedness to foreign nations. More than five billion dollars' worth of American securities of one description or another are owned by people who do not live in the United States. The interest and dividends on these securities, plus the three hundred million dollars we pay to foreign countries for freight charges, plus the fifty million dollars or more that we pay in bank commissions, brokerages, and foreign insurances, plus the three hundred million dollars that people living in this country remit to relatives and friends in Europe and Asia, plus the five hundred million dollars that American tourists spend abroad in normal times, constitute an outgo or sub-current exceeding the balance of trade apparently in our favor by at least a billion dollars a year. The debt of the American people to other people is piling up at this awful rate every year. There is only one possible means by which this debt can be liquidated, and that is by a vastly increased volume of exports. We can never expect that this volume of exports will be very materially increased by the outward shipment of foodstuffs, therefore it must consist in greater part of manufactured products of one description or another.

What are these ships of ours, that are carrying these exports outgoing, to bring back to us?

Tropical fruits, sugar, tea, coffee, rubber, wool, metals, chemicals, hardwoods, "key-materials" such as ferro-manganese, tungsten, etc., and, in fact, *all* raw materials too numerous to mention, for our manufactures. We must remember that, since this country has now arrived at the manufacturing stage of its evolution, we also need raw materials, just as England and Germany and other manufacturing countries have had to import them.

Why, if we bring back all this material,

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will we not be in just the same position as we were before, and therefore be as badly in debt as before?

Because the cargoes of raw material that come in do not begin to have the value that the cargoes of manufactured exports have.

But why can we not let foreigners attend to the business of carrying out our exports while we attend to other things?

If you are running a big department store and you find you have to deliver your goods to your customers in order to hold their trade, you do not engage the delivery wagons of a competitor who is trying to sell the same kind of goods to the same sort of people to whom you are trying to sell your goods. The thing is inconceivable.

But is it not the duty of America first to develop her own resources rather than anything else?

Certainly, and that is exactly what we are driving at, because the United States has been endowed with the most magnificent *maritime resources* of any nation on the face of the globe. We are possessed of eight thousand miles of magnificent sea-front, and of the most commanding, commercially strategic position in the world. With the old civilization of Europe on the one hand, and the still older civilization of Asia on the other, we make as little use of our maritime "talents" as if we were in Switzerland or Tibet. You remember the parable of the talents. They are of various kinds. Whole civilizations have flourished solely by the intelligent use of their maritime "talents," as was the case with the ancient Carthaginians, and is now the case with Great Britain. Even in Germany, with only one hundred and thirty-five miles of "maritime talents," they have developed a foreign trade of five hundred million dollars per annum in excess of America's total foreign trade, although America has eight thousand miles of "maritime talents." Indeed, the maritime resources of America will prove to be as remunerative as her continental or land resources of mines, forests, water powers, and the like. We have a moral duty to perform in the development of these talents which Providence has intrusted to our keeping.

How can the great majority of Americans who never see salt water conceivably be interested in this question, important as it seems to be?

Only by a campaign of popular education and constant reminders through the press and by instruction in colleges and schools. This course of education was admirably carried on in Germany by the German Marine League. There are four thousand branches of the German Marine League scattered throughout the interior of the German Empire, and there is not a German laborer but knows that if he expects to have steady employment the things that he makes must be as steadily sold, and sold, if possible, outside of Germany itself, so that new money may come into the Empire, and the result of his labor be not a mere transfer of old money from one German pocket to another German pocket. Three hundred thousand school-children sing the praises of the German marine, and so thoroughly impregnated has the population become with the fact that maritime enterprise is complementary to the success of inland enterprise that the idea of questioning any effort for the betterment of the German mercantile marine would never enter their thoughts for a moment, any more than it would have entered the thoughts of our own population a hundred years ago. A hundred years ago the American people thoroughly understood that, but their thoughts have drifted away and they have to be recalled to what they once took for granted.

Granted that a merchant marine is needed and very important, what methods can we use to build it up?

There are several methods that might be advantageously employed. Among these might be enumerated the use of discriminating duties in favor of goods carried in American bottoms. Again, there is the possibility of some form of subvention or generous payment to ships for the carrying of United States mail, and especially for establishing new mail routes to countries with which our manufacturers must establish export trade relations. We can also pay the sailors themselves the difference between the American rate of wages and the average current non-American rate. There is also the possibility of permitting lower rates on railway freight from interior points intended for export, and also the necessity of encouraging our manufacturers to develop a far larger proportion of their output for specialized export purposes.

How does a discriminating duty work?

Like this. An American ship, having arrived in a foreign port, naturally needs freight for her return voyage. The foreigner is induced to employ the American ship rather than the ship of some other nation because

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by so doing he will have a rebate of five per cent—or whatever the rate may be—on the tariff he would have to pay when his goods reached America. This policy was in existence for the first fifty years of our National life, and worked with such splendid results that from 1795 to 1860 we carried, on an average, eighty per cent of our overseas commerce in American vessels. To-day the percentage is less than ten per cent.

Have we any treaties or agreements with foreign nations that would prevent us from doing this?

Yes, but they are only like a lease or any other business agreement. All of these trade treaties are terminable at the will of either party. In fact, to give force to the Seamen's Act these self-same treaties now are in process of abrogation or modification. It must always be remembered that the most vital opposition to an American merchant marine has come from foreign sources. As foreign ship-owners have discriminated against American ships by allowing a five per cent rebate on goods carried in their ships, the only way in which the United States can get even is by allowing a discriminating duty on American ships.

Are Government payments to ship-owners gifts out of the public treasury to a special interest, or does the Nation get a value received from them if they are properly arranged?

As a matter of fact, the report of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General of the United States shows that American ships under contract for the carriage of United States mail were paid during 1915 $260,000 *less* than they would have received if they had *not* been under contract.

As a rule, the public kicks at the idea of being taxed for something in which it has no apparent interest, but the public does not object if it is taxed as a whole for the sake of the seafaring people. The man in Kansas rebels at paying a tax when he thinks a few rich corporations in New York will get the benefit of that tax, but the land laborer is perfectly willing to help the sea laborer when he realizes that it is going to be of general public benefit to have sea labor.

Could subventions be so arranged that it would be perfectly clear that the Government was getting value received?

Absolutely so. The Government would get a *quid pro quo*, just as in the instance already quoted in regard to the British merchant marine. The Government must help to keep a career open for the employment of its citizens in maritime affairs. It is impossible for a small group of American citizens to keep a great industry open for the employment of perhaps one hundred thousand American seamen, and it is for the good of the Nation that those men should be employed and employed steadily, as a matter of National safety alone. Every seaman is a potential maritime policeman or defender.

Would the payments that you suggest to American sailors to make up an adequate wage entitle the Government to their services in time of war?

Unquestionably so. It is for that very reason that they receive this extra pay, and they would become a part of our maritime reserve, and their acceptance of this extra pay would bind them to that part of the bargain.

Would this payment by the Government to American seamen constitute an investment which the country would have to safeguard by looking after the welfare of the men they paid?

Yes; and we ought to welcome that responsibility for the sake of the Nation and for the sake of the individual. Anything is good that improves the self-respect of the sailor and cements the tie that binds the sailor to his Government and to his country. There is a fine flavor of respectability and of independence about the American laboring man that you find nowhere else on the face of the earth. Why should this not be the same in the case of the sea laborer? Americans will not go to sea unless they can go on the same terms of self-respect as they can go to their work on land. We already have that spirit of self-respect in our navy, and we must have it in our merchant marine if we are going to have a merchant marine at all.

How can the Nation encourage and direct manufacturers to take thought for making goods for export, thus providing something for our merchant marine to carry?

I believe that the Inter-State Commerce Commission can help by amending its ruling allowing lower rail rates on exports and imports only to those carried in American vessels. I also believe that the Federal Trade Commission can help by permitting Americans to combine in matters of export trade, just as the German Government not only permits but encourages its exporters to do. If Germans are permitted to stand shoulder to shoulder in dealing with America, why cannot Americans be

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allowed to stand shoulder to shoulder in dealing with Germany or any other country? We live in an era of disintegration and distrust, and in order to get a merchant marine we must make it an era of combination and confidence.

Is there any reason why part of the capital for our merchant marine should not be supplied by the railways that would feed that merchant marine with freight?

I can see no possible reason why railways should not have the right to extend their facilities to their overseas termini. It must be remembered that the terminus of American products is not at some point on the seacoast of America itself, but at some chief distributive point in the country where those products will be sold. In other words, our termini lie across the seas; they are not here. The railways that bring passengers to Hoboken and Weehawken and Jersey City do not really bring their passengers to their destination until they take them across the river in some way to New York City; and the ferriage across the ocean is just as much a part of the railway's function as the trip across the river.

If the railways were permitted to own merchant ships, would they not crowd out everybody else who wanted to go into the business?

No; no more than a railway train can leave its rails and career all over the countryside like an automobile. Railway and steamer combination traffic is strictly limited to certain foreign termini, such as Nagasaki, Liverpool, London, Hamburg, etc. These ships follow certain ocean lanes almost as undeviatingly as the train glides along the rails. Such ocean traffic constitutes only one-twentieth of the ocean-borne traffic of the world, and a railway company could no more go into the tramp steamship business than it could fly. The danger is purely imaginary. The tramp steamers of Great Britain form about seventy-five per cent of her total ocean tonnage.

What can the manufacturers themselves do to form the habit of thinking about making products for export?

The best answer to that is the instance of how Seattle and San Francisco captured the Alaskan trade. At the time of the discovery of gold in Alaska there was a great rush of people there and they had to have supplies. Overnight there thus came to Seattle and San Francisco a new demand for goods. The merchants and manufacturers quickly adapted themselves to the circumstances, and made a study of the kind of goods required in Alaska, and of the only available means of transportation at that time, which consisted of sledges drawn by dogs. Accordingly, only the best quality of goods could possibly be sent, and packing methods were entirely revolutionized and adapted to the conditions aforesaid.

Similarly with all our manufacturers, as a whole. They already appreciate the fact that overhead charges run for twelve months in the year, and that the dispersion of skilled labor and the difficulty of reassembling it after a shut-down is a most serious impediment to their business success. They must also realize the fact that there is no stabilizer or equilibrator in manufacturing enterprise that begins to equal the export trade, and manufacturers must consequently devote at least twenty-five per cent of their energy to the development of foreign trade and its various requirements.

What do you consider the most important factor in the whole question of American maritime development?

A fixed habit of thought on the part of the entire population. We are always in danger "lest we forget." An instance of this occurred very recently. Mr. Whitman, the Governor of the most important maritime State in the Republic, so far forgot the necessity to the country of educating and maintaining the breed of men upon whose activities the economic future of the Republic depends that he actually recommended the abolition of the nautical training-ship of New York State; and this at the very moment when the whole Nation is agitating itself as to what is the best thing to do to make us maritimely independent. The Governor had nothing but good intentions in the matter, and when the importance of the training-ship was made evident by discussion he ceased to press the recommendation; but the episode indicates that his habit of mind did not lead him involuntarily to hold on to the necessity of the training-ship as an asset of incalculable value to the State. He probably was sore pressed by urgent requests to economize in one direction or another, and thought that this was a little affair of no particular moment that could be about as easily dropped as anything else. If this is true of the Governor of the State of New York, what can we expect of the average citizen of an inland State?

What is the moral duty of America in this matter?

I believe that a nation or an individual has to grow somewhat like a tree—that is

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to say, for the first few years of its life it must be selfish in order to gain strength. The tree draws to itself from all directions, from the forces of earth, sky, and sunshine; but the time comes when it has to show its fruits. And just so with a nation. This is exactly what has happened with Spain, Portugal, France, and Great Britain. Each nation, in turn, had to bear the white man's burden. It has come to America; and what we have done already in Cuba, and what we have proposed to do and are undertaking to do in the Philippines, is to bear this fruit that other peoples as well as ourselves may enjoy it; and I am perfectly sure that if America is to make her contribution to civilization by carrying her ideas and ideals to people that want them she cannot depend upon other nations to do it for her, but must do it herself under the Stars and Stripes.

THE PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FOREIGN POLICY

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

THE course of the present National Administration in the conduct of international affairs has been almost continuously under fire since Mr. Wilson became President. In line with the plan of presenting the point of view of both political friends and opponents in at least a straightforward and sympathetic manner, I have sought to learn as nearly as possible at first hand the inner thought of the Administration at Washington upon the international relations which have now so long vexed the country. The questions are questions which I propounded, after counseling with others as to their form in order that they might offer a courteous and sympathetic approach to the proper answers from the Administration view-point. The answers are not mine. They are the answers of those to whom the questions were directly put.

Although I have no authority to say that any officer of the Administration is responsible for the language used, yet the readers of The Outlook may be assured that the answers are obtained from intimate and entirely trustworthy sources, and represent with exactness the point of view of the Wilson Administration. When the natural reluctance of high officials to speak freely upon international matters is taken into account, I cannot refrain from expressing my appreciation of the cordiality and frankness with which these inquiries were specifically met.

Is or was there any obligation resting upon the United States relative to the maintenance of the inviolability of Belgium?

None.

What was the nature of the obligation assumed by the United States under Articles I and II of the Fifth Convention adopted by the Second Hague Conference regarding the "Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Case of War on Land," which provides that "the territory of neutral Powers is inviolable," and that "belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral Power"?

There is a distinction between *neutralized* states and *neutral* states. Belgium was a *neutralized* state, a status imposed upon it by conventional agreement between certain European Powers that were interested either in the maintenance of Belgium as a political entity or in keeping Belgium from being a base of military or any other kind of assistance to neighboring states. *Neutralization* is a condition of *permanent neutrality* in peace and war, and only the Powers guaranteeing neutralization have any legal right to complain of any violation of the treaty. The United States had no part in the neutralization of Belgium. It was an affair of European politics.

Neutrality has to do with the attitude of states at the outbreak of an international war. The Hague Conventions contemplate the rights and duties of states which remain neutral during war. Belgium at the beginning of the war elected to be a neutral state, and under the Fifth Convention the territory of neutral Powers is inviolable. But the Germans violated no Hague Convention by invading Belgium. For what was regarded as good reason, namely, the refusal of Bel-

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gium to allow a free passage for troops, Germany declared war before invading the territory of the neutral. She may therefore have violated the neutralization agreement, to which the United States was never a party, but not the Hague Convention with respect to neutrality, to which the United States was a party. A belligerent under the rules of international law may attack a neutral after stating its own *casus belli*. Third parties like the United States can offer to mediate only over matters at variance, and this the President did in general terms in the interest of European peace on the 4th and 5th of August, 1914. Furthermore, the delegates to The Hague from the United States explicitly absolved this country from entangling itself with European politics or administration.

Are the considerations in regard to the maintenance of neutrality paramount to those of humanity and international justice?

All a neutral can do is to maintain its own rights and, indirectly, the rights of humanity. At bottom, however, the principles of humanity are at the basis of international law.

Are there firm principles of international law to guide the Administration in the attitude which it assumes relative to the questions of submarine warfare and the interference with neutral rights?

The principles are there. Rules are less sure, but founded on principles. This is illustrated by the memorandum with respect to armed merchantmen issued on April 26 under direction of the President. The international principle with respect to armed merchantmen is clear. The principle is that the merchantman, even though armed, is armed for defense and is of peaceful character. But the rule or standard of evidence is not necessarily the same for the neutral and the belligerent. The neutral must be more strict in practice with respect to the evidence of hostile purpose because it may unwittingly violate neutrality in its own ports. The belligerent on the high seas must be cautious in the opposite direction and guard against the wanton destruction of humanity and property.

What redress will the Government consider as holding Germany to a strict accountability for the destruction of American lives?

That depends on what the proper amends are in each case. Of course there will be an indemnity, which will be an admission of liability.

How far will the Government go to protect Americans from jeopardy on the high seas?

This is the physical side, and it is up to the President as to the length to which he will go in the use of the naval arm particularly, and also the military arm.

Will American citizens employed on any freighter flying a belligerent flag be protected against unlawful attack to the same extent as American passengers traveling on liners?

There are two points of view with respect to that:

(*a*) By taking employment on such a vessel American citizens acquire a belligerent character to an extent.

(*b*) On the other hand, men who are following their customary vocations have to seek employment where they can get it. They are, therefore, perhaps, entitled to even more protection than passengers. The Administration has not yet reached a conclusion. If it be an entirely unwarranted attack, it might very justly be complained of. It would not appear that we would have any right to make any great distinction between freighters and liners. In the case of a freighter there is a little more justification in sinking it, but probably the protection of life is just as vital.

To what extent is the Government justified in taking action to vindicate the National honor?

Any action that it sees fit. We should be careful, however, about putting National interest above National right. The foundation of the Republic is upon National right. The emphasis upon National interest is a part of the utilitarian tendency of the whole age, of which another manifestation is the exaltation of efficiency.

In how far should a self-respecting Government modify its stand in regard to the defense of its rights in the presence of a threatened recourse to force on the part of a foreign government?

Not at all.

Will the Government use its power to protect the lives of non-combatants, whether they be neutrals or citizens of one of the nations at war?

It is hard to say. The Government might confine itself to expressing abhorrence at such destruction of life. The question of how far we would be warranted in going depends very much upon the circumstances of the particular case.

Should the United States define the defensive armament permissible to merchantmen entering our ports?

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Yes. The American Government has gone into that carefully in a memorandum just made public.

If the American Government considers that international law permits the armament of merchant vessels, why should the Secretary of State, in his note of January 18, have said:

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of underseas craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser, and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly?

The international principle has not changed. A merchantman still has the right to arm for defense. But the burden of *proof* has changed since the invention and use of the defensively weak underseas craft. The old defensive armament on a merchantman can now be used offensively with disastrous results to the submarine. And a supposedly defensively armed merchantman may easily be a commerce raider in disguise. The old principle requires that the neutral should exercise every care to prevent its own ports from being used by belligerent war-vessels. Since armed merchantmen may now easily become war craft, the neutral must be far more strict in determining what war craft are, in order to prevent itself from becoming liable. The neutral must assume in practice that the presence of armament is against a vessel being of peaceful character, but must listen to the evidence. So far as the neutral is concerned, the burden of proof is on the merchantman. The belligerent on the high seas, on the other hand, must be careful about the application of the new rule, in order to prevent wanton destruction of human life and property, and must have positive evidence that the merchantman is in reality armed for aggression.

What answer should be made to those who assert that the United States has not insisted upon its rights of neutral commerce as against British interference?

The United States has done much. But it has been embarrassed all the way through by our own conduct during the Civil War. We changed the laws to suit our conditions at that time. We did not go so far as Great Britain in the matter of the seizure of mails, but we went some distance. But now we must stand on the law as it existed at the outbreak of the present war, just as Great Britain did in the Civil War.

Is there any justification for the view that the United States should regard the illegal destruction of American lives on a different plane from the disregard of its rights of commerce?

Certainly. The difference lies in this. The right of life is an inherent right. The right of property is a legal right. Legal right can always be compensated for by a monetary consideration. The right of life never can be.

Are there precedents for such forbearance as the Government has shown in the submarine negotiations with Germany?

No precedents; but it may be assumed that there are reasons that never will be made public. Of course there is one reason that is obvious to everybody. The submarine is a new weapon of warfare. The Germans maintain that the British are attempting to starve their population. People at war never look at any question entirely sanely, and it is better to exhaust every possible diplomatic channel before we resort to the threat of breaking off relations.

What has been accomplished during the year's negotiations with Germany over the sinking of the Lusitania?

We had practically reached an agreement until the renewal of submarine activity which has, so far, prevented a complete settlement. We were dealing with two features—past and future conduct. We thought future conduct was entirely settled by the assurance given us, and the whole debate was over past conduct. We had practically reached a satisfactory settlement when the indiscriminate warfare was renewed and overturned everything.

How far can an American citizen support what he believes to be the justice of the cause of one of the belligerents without ceasing to be a loyal citizen or causing undue embarrassment to the American Government?

He must do nothing that would in any way contribute to the violation of our neutrality. What he says is largely a matter of taste. But the deed is material. For example, using this country as a basis for belligerent operations.

Why did the American Government not take any action to prevent the massacre of the Armenians?

We did all we could. We made protests. We got Germany to protest. We did not have the physical power to do anything further. What we did had to be entirely through moral and personal influence. We did a good

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deal to relieve the situation, but not sufficient. Of course there is a measure of excuse, not for the massacre, but for the policy of the Turkish Government, which was to remove the Armenians from the immediate seat of war. Other countries would have done the same thing, but in an entirely different way.

Does the American Government expect to secure the protection of American lives and property in Mexico?

If we were to undertake fully to protect life and property, we should have to go in and take the country. The whole question of intervention is involved. The majority do not want intervention by this country if it can be avoided. All of Mexico has resented our being in their country every minute since we have recently gone in. We must respect the inherent right of men to pick their own form of government. So far as property is concerned, those who go among non-civilized peoples for profit expect more than a fair return on their money, and expect to be compensated for their loss, to an extent, in that way.

What relative importance attaches to the maintenance of order and the protection of life in Mexico as compared with the right of the Mexicans to continue in revolution or anarchy?

The right of revolution no one can deny. We might use moral influence for the maintenance of order and the protection of life, but we would hardly be warranted in threatening the Mexicans.

Within what geographic limits and to what extent shall the United States assist weaker and more disturbed countries to meet their international obligations, as has been done in the cases of San Domingo, Haiti, and Nicaragua?

That is a question of our own National safety. It is important in the countries mentioned that there should be peace and stability of government in order that they may not become a prey to foreign interests. This applies particularly to the small countries around and about the Panama Canal.

In working out a feasible policy of Pan-Americanism for the common defense of the interests of all the republics on this hemisphere, how far is the American Government willing to shoulder the burdens of armament and administration without assuming a preponderating influence in determining the action to be taken?

Of course we are bound to maintain Pan-Americanism mostly by our own force. That is apparent. There are difficulties in the matter of equality of representation. A Pan-American policy is best worked out by treaty, by which the countries bind themselves to certain things. And there may be, so far as we are concerned, of course, at any time an appeal to the Monroe Doctrine when our National safety is involved. The Monroe Doctrine is entirely National, for our own protection.

If the United States should withdraw from the Philippines, what assurance would there be:

(a) *For the protection of the civilized population against the uncivilized inhabitants of the islands?*

(b) *That the weaker and less civilized peoples would not be exploited by the predatory interests from among the more developed inhabitants of the islands?*

(c) *For the protection of the lives and property of Americans and other foreigners for whom we are responsible?*

(d) *That the Philippines would not become another apple of discord, for the possession of which the nations would contend in the Far East?*

(*a*) The civilized populations in the Philippine Islands are thoroughly competent to look after themselves so far as the attacks from the non-civilized are concerned, both by their intelligence, arms, and numbers.

(*b*) There could be no assurance that exploitation might not happen. We can only say that since the natives who now constitute the lawmaking body have been practically authorized to legislate they have treated the people very well indeed. At least, under our observation and guidance they have shown themselves to be fair to the backward peoples. The chief danger is not that the natural resources and the backward inhabitants might be exploited, but that everything would be let alone.

(*c*) Any government established by the Filipinos would have a disposition to protect foreigners. If any class of foreigners complained, it would be likely to mean the subjection of the government to foreign tutelage.

The foreign investor would have to look to our Government. But even here the situation in the Philippines is fortunate. The Spaniards did not exploit the islands. Neither have we exploited them. And a Philippine government, once established, would become the possessor of forests and public domains worth many times the value of the property

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under private ownership. A Philippine government, if at all thrifty, could easily take care of the public indebtedness, which is very small. The only danger that might arise would be from extreme incompetence from within.

(*d*) A matter of doubt. There is a good deal of difference of opinion within the Democratic party and among the Wilson supporters. The very fact that the Philippines are the richest tropical country anywhere, the most capable of development, makes a natural temptation to any country wishing to go into tropical colonization. The country is not overpopulated and would develop rapidly. It is near the Chinese coast, and could get a thrifty population without much trouble. The Filipinos have always been a sheltered people. The Spanish Government treated them very well, was semi-religious in its character, and protected them from the temptations of the world. They have never been called upon to protect themselves. They have never been called upon to do most of the serious things connected with government. We have given them much more experience than they ever had, but we have maintained a sufficient number of Americans in power to direct everything. We could not have extended participation in the government much faster than we have without things breaking down. This is the conservative Administration view. The radicals favor the Clarke amendment, practically withdrawing our leadership and responsibility within a short time.

What action, if any, is the American Government taking to help preserve the integrity of China?

We are doing nothing except preserving all our rights. As to the integrity of China, there is much doubt if it is being particularly threatened.

Is the American Government willing that Japan should apply a Monroe Doctrine of her own to the Far East?

The Monroe Doctrine is a National policy of defense. The Monroe Doctrine says that other countries shall not expand their holdings in the Western Hemisphere. Under the terms of a real Monroe Doctrine Japan could not expand her holdings in the Orient. There is some question whether the United States would be willing to have Japan apply "a Monroe Doctrine of her own."

What diplomatic policy can the United States adopt which will accord a perfect equality of treatment to the subjects of Japan and yet maintain its sovereign right to choose those whom it will accept into the body of its citizens and those whom it will permit to sojourn or take up a permanent residence in this country?

The "gentlemen's agreement" which now governs these matters between Japan and the United States is working well, and there is no complaint. And it is a good adage of diplomacy to let the sleeping dogs lie. Furthermore, so far as citizenship is concerned, we admit by our naturalization laws only whites and those of African descent. Under our laws no Japanese could be naturalized. Those born in this country, however, become citizens without regard to color.

In how far is it necessary for a democratic government to keep its diplomacy secret?

Without secrecy we never could hold confidential negotiations at all. If we should disclose many things affecting the course of diplomacy we should destroy the usefulness of our officers abroad and all possibility of completing the negotiations.

How is it possible to reconcile a large measure of secrecy in the conduct of foreign affairs with the necessary education of public opinion and the securing of the support of the people for the policies of the Government?

The only way to educate public opinion is to proclaim a general policy and allow it to be discussed among the people. This is almost the first time that foreign affairs have really become so prominent that the people of the United States have become thoroughly exercised over them. There is a great deal which can be disclosed and which it is important to disclose and to have discussed in order to develop a sound public opinion.

Is the proposal of a league to enforce peace compatible with the traditional policy of the United States to avoid entangling alliances?

An Administration beset by a problem of the first magnitude of keeping the peace without any league, has not the time just now to think much about leagues hereafter to enforce peace.

What is the verdict of the future likely to be upon the whole course of the Wilson foreign policy?

As to the foreign policy in general, there is reason to believe that in the cool judgment of history the President's conduct will meet with the approval of all. The country is now divided into camps and cannot see things dispassionately, and it is therefore impossible to get an unbiased opinion. It is the chief

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duty of every ruler to keep his country out of war as long as he can, and at the same time maintain national honor. And the National honor has not yet been compromised. Notes are very tiring to that section of the people who desire action, but the Administration to-day has the record of having kept the country out of war.

Recently the editor of one of the great New York dailies talked with a high officer of Government in the Department of State. This editor writes thundering editorials against the Wilson Administration and its conduct of foreign affairs. As he was leaving he turned and said to the high officer of Government: "War is a frightful thing. I hope you will keep us out of it." To which the high officer of Government replied: "That remark is very inconsistent with the editorials you are writing."

No matter what step the Administration may take just now, some one finds a political reason for it at once. One critical view is that the recent firm stand of the President has been made necessary by the position of Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt. But nobody close to the President has the slightest belief in that. Mr. Wilson knows too well that anybody who thinks of political advantage in such a crisis is only a fool. What is political advantage to-day in the world war may be a distinct disadvantage to-morrow. The only thing is to go ahead on the line of what is best for the country. And the best policy is to ignore politics altogether. And this is certainly the method of patriotism, and the method which the President has followed. Deep down beneath the surface the country is convinced that the administration of foreign affairs has been wise and strong. Caution rather than vigor has been demanded in so grave a world situation. A year ago this country was more intensely divided into two camps than now. The controversy with Germany, for example, is easier to handle to-day without war than it was a year ago. A year ago it would have been impossible to obtain concessions. Now we have been patient and dignified, and all the Powers are getting towards the end of the road, are worried about what is going to happen after the war, and are not so belligerent as they were. So they can all be handled better, as the result of America's keeping her head and taking her time.

The foregoing questions and answers furnish a fair and accurate presentation, I believe, of the Administration's views of its foreign policy.

Washington, May 2, 1916

THE READER'S VIEW

THE BLIND AND THEIR SENSE-CAPACITY

Perhaps a note on the relative sensitiveness of the blind according to accurate measurements would be of interest to your readers in connection with the communications from the blind in recent numbers of The Outlook.

It seems to be generally assumed that when the blind person is forced to use the senses of touch and hearing in place of sight he develops an unusual sensitiveness in these; witness the rather astonishing keenness of touch the blind person shows in reading raised print with his finger-tips and accurate orientation in space through hearing.

Through certain experiments in the psychological laboratory and incidental tests upon blind persons it has gradually dawned upon me that a distinction should be made between sensitiveness and ability to use a sense—in other words, between native sensory capacity of the sense organ and the acquired ability to use that capacity. In a preliminary way I found that blind persons who had gained excellent skill in the reading of raised print and in special adjustments through hearing were no more sensitive to touch or to the hearing of direction of sound than I was.

The tests were, however, so devised that they should be equally fair to the trained and the untrained. For instance, one test of touch consisted in the ability to locate with the finger-tip a hair placed under a sheet of paper on a glass plate. The only question put was this: Where is the hair? In the first test I used a human hair two inches long, and the blind person was able to locate it under thirty-two sheets of twenty-pound bond writing paper. That seemed but a natural performance for a blind person. But behold my surprise when I tried it myself and found that I was able to do even better!

To put the matter to further test, one of my students, Mr. T. Ling, made an extremely careful series of measurements upon fifteen pupils in the Iowa School for the Blind, selecting the

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most advanced students of high school age who had been trained as pupils in the School for the Blind for more than five years. Fifteen pupils of the Iowa City High School were selected for comparison with these. On these two groups of fifteen each he made six sets of measurements as follows: (1) to locate a hair covered with paper; (2) to determine how far apart two points touched must be to be felt as two—(*a*) on the finger-tip of the first finger of the right hand, and (*b*) on the forearm just above the wrist; (3) the ability to determine by lifting with the finger-tips which of two weights was the heavier; (4) to tell whether at a given moment a five-gramme pressure upon the finger-tips was increased or decreased; (5) to tell which of two successive sounds was the louder; and (6) to tell whether a given sound came from the right or the left of a given standard.

It will be observed that this involves the capacities most used by the blind as distinguished from the seeing—those which are generally assumed to be increased by use.

The result of these measurements may be generalized in the single statement that there is no significant difference in the sensitiveness of the blind and the seeing in the tactual, muscular, and auditory senses.

No seeing person can begin to guide himself by touch and hearing without training, but the point here made is that the training does not increase the sensitiveness of a sense organ. It merely puts this capacity to better use. These experiments also bring into relief the fact that all seeing persons do make constant use of touch, hearing, and the muscle sense.

To sum up, then: the senses of touch and hearing and other senses usually drawn upon by the blind do not have their psycho-physic capacity increased by the use they are put to by the blind. That capacity is set by heredity and very early development, and if any change takes place after infancy it is probably in the direction of deterioration.

CARL E. SEASHORE.
Psychological Laboratory,
The State University of Iowa.

IF GERMANY HAD HAD COMMAND OF THE SEA

Germany has complained bitterly of the attempt of England to starve out her civil population in order to bring the war to a close. This suggests a very pertinent question. Suppose that Germany, instead of Great Britain, had had command of the sea at the very beginning of the war. It has been stated many times that the home supply of food for Great Britain would not last over six weeks if her imports of foodstuffs were stopped. Is there anybody so silly as to believe that Germany, in case she had had command of the sea, would not have cut off Great Britain's supply of food instantly and entirely and brought her to her knees by starvation within two months after the institution of such a blockade?

It must be remembered also, as to Germany's complaint (that the Allies are trying to starve the civilian non-combatant population), that every bushel of American wheat going to Germany releases a bushel of German wheat to feed the army. Any importation of foodstuffs into Germany for the civil population is therefore simply an indirect way of supporting the German army.

* *

BERNHARDI ON UNIVERSAL SERVICE

So much has been said about the military spirit that would be engendered by preparedness, the idea that if we were prepared for war we would insist on getting into trouble, that it might be interesting to note what F. von Bernhardi says on this point in his "Germany and the Next War," page 11. He is deploring the fact that Germany has no more of the war spirit, and one of the reasons for this he states as follows: "Universal military service, too, contributes to the love of peace, for war in these days does not merely affect, as formerly, definite limited circles, but the whole nation suffers alike. All families and all classes have to pay the same toll of human lives." He affirms that universal military service makes war so real and brings it so close to all the people that they are all the more anxious to avoid war.

F. C. SCOVILLE.
Greenwich, New York.

AN AMERICAN IN MEXICO

[The following extracts from a personal letter lately received by a friend of The Outlook who is interested in a ranch in southwestern Mexico give a vivid idea of conditions in Mexico—all, as he says, lapsing into savagery, and little hope felt by Americans from their own Government.—THE EDITORS.]

I received your letter at ——, as I was passing through on a quick trip to —— from the ranch. I have not space to give you an idea of what such a trip as this referred to is in these times here; it is simply unbelievable, the outrages, discomforts, and dangers. I left the ranch to attend to business at a point five hours from here, intending to return the next day—took a toothbrush and a small towel in my pocket, absolutely nothing else. I spent five days in —— before a chance offered to get away, and I slept in a filthy room with ditto Mexicans, my clothes on most of the time. From —— to —— I journeyed on top of a half-wrecked tank car through half the night and day, and the balance of the journey on the coal heap of the tender, the engine being broken down and unable to draw the two empty tank cars which made up the train. These

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details are small, but indicate the condition of everything in the Republic, society included—all lapsing into savagery.

Locally here we are as badly (and worse) off—with less incidental discomfort from day to day, but more danger, being out of reach from everywhere. Since my return we have had a night visit from a brutal set of bandits who demanded $2,000; got about $300, and told us to have the balance when they called again—soon—or there would be trouble. This same party are in the mountains not far from here and have had our *administrador* on the floor and threatened with rope and pistol several times before I arrived. Last evening I received by messenger a letter from the United States Consul at ——, saying he had complained to the Governor for me and asked for "protection" (a farce), and had sent a code message to Washington concerning the local situation and our most recent robbery—this is another farce. Does any one suppose Washington will do anything effective at all? Day before yesterday a party of Carranzistas visited us to inquire about the robbery. They fed upon us, animals and men, about thirty; took nine riding animals away, with some saddles and bridles; asked for one of our *vaqueros* to attend them until they got the right trail. The *vaquero* came back afoot; they had taken one of our best mules from him, which he was riding. This is enough, and indicates what is going on everywhere, in town and country, and is what the United States is upholding. I probably shall not stay long here—cannot—and from day to day we do not know what may happen to us and the property which has been robbed and robbed by all parties who are now continuing. The situation in Mexico is hopeless, and will so continue until the final collapse. Nothing but anarchy and outrage now—no government nor semblance. * *

"AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?"

My attention has been called to a recent article in The Outlook entitled "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" and bearing upon the declination of the Board of Education, upon my recommendation, to give a permanent place to the Dollman painting in the Washington Irving High School. In this article you state that "the circumstances under which this picture was rejected furnish the text for Mr. Seibel's poem," a poem which, by inference, attributes a weak and unworthy pedagogy to the teaching in the Washington Irving High School.

It is to be regretted that the editors of The Outlook published an opinion upon a subject without investigating the facts in the case. Certainly "the circumstances under which this picture was rejected" did *not* furnish a text for the poem presented, nor did the principal of the school give any orders whatsoever concerning the storing of the picture within the building.

A plan for decorating the walls of the Washington Irving High School with scenes from the life and works of Washington Irving, at an expenditure of about thirty thousand dollars, the gift of Mrs. Edward H. Harriman, is in progress; and into this harmonious scheme there was an attempt permanently to place the picture referred to, without any regard or consideration for the plan in force. To the temporary exhibition of the picture, to illustrate a lecture upon "Unemployment," there was no objection; there was, however, decided objection to the introduction of it as a permanent part of the school decoration.

The school has never entered into a discussion upon either the art value or the social value of the picture, and to these irrelevant matters, appearing from time to time in the press, we have given no response. The school has objected to the permanent placement of the picture in the Washington Irving High School, because the painting is inharmonious and incompatible with the scheme of decoration proposed by the Municipal Art Society and approved by the Municipal Art Commission, and because the school desires to emphasize the integrity of its decorative environment as well as of its teachings. There are many great paintings that might provoke discussion concerning either their art or their social value, as this painting has called forth from those without a knowledge of the real situation; but what I desire to emphasize is the complete irrelevancy of such discussion in the present instance, which is concerned only with the subject of location.

You are very cordially invited to inspect the building and to view the progress of its decorative work, as well as to note the character of the instruction herein; you will see a strong institution, and, I believe, one second to none of its kind in its duty and service to the American public.

EDWARD C. ZABRISKIE,
Principal Washington Irving
High School, New York

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BY THE WAY

"I am sorry to note the passing of 'Harper's Weekly,'" a friend writes. "Probably some of your older readers may remember it with equal affection as a joy of their early years. I myself learned to read, in an unconventional way, by studying the pictures in the 'Weekly.' In my boyhood days it consisted of sixteen pages and the edges were not trimmed, so that you could unfold it into one large sheet. When thus unfolded, you found eight pages of delightful pictures on one side. Spreading it open on the floor, I crawled over the sheet, devouring the pictures and then studying the captions. These were my first reading lessons."

Thrifty persons are advised to save the "stubs" of lead pencils to avert a threatened pencil famine owing to diminished supplies used in making these daily necessities. The stubs, which almost every one has been in the habit of throwing away, can be fitted into a holder and used to the extreme end.

Two brothers, the "Golfers' Magazine" reports, who had long been rivals for golfing honors, determined to settle the matter by playing just one hole on the course, in the early morning. George hit a beautiful 200-yard drive. John was "fussed" and got a bad slice, the ball disappearing in high grass. Both searched for the missing ball. After looking five minutes, George said, "Well, time is up. Lost ball, lost hole." John slyly dropped a ball out of his pocket on the grass. "Oh, here's my ball," he said. George turned back with amazement on his face. "That's not your ball," he said, wrathfully. "I have the ball that you drove in my pocket, and it's been there ever since."

Sometimes abbreviations become better known than the words they stand for, as in the case of the universally used formulas "O. K." and "C. O. D." A rival of these locutions is "Y. M. C. A.," standing for—everybody knows what—but no! some people seem to think these letters are complete in themselves, as is shown in this anecdote from an exchange: "'Is that building the Young Men's Christian Association?' asked a stranger in an Alabama town. 'Oh, no, not at all, sir! It's the Y. M. C. A. Building.'"

The fatalities due to automobile accidents are distressing enough, but one encouraging fact in connection with them, as stated in a Government report, is that during the last five years the number of fatal accidents has not increased nearly as fast as the number of cars. The cars have increased 775 per cent, while fatalities have increased only 258 per cent. This seems to indicate more careful driving at present.

One of the largest rugs ever woven was sold recently in New York City at auction. It was about thirty-two feet square; and it was originally made for the private temple of the late Empress Dowager of China. During the Boxer Rebellion half of the carpet was stolen. The other half was offered for sale and was bought by an American firm. They succeeded in locating the stolen part, acquired it, and joined the two together to make again a perfect whole. The rug brought $8,000 at the sale.

All things in the way of opportunity come to the witty headline artist who waits. Here is a sample: Mrs. Belle Metal brought suit against Max Metal for annulment of marriage, claiming that the ceremony was only a "lark" and that she did not regard it seriously. The headline as to this state of affairs reads: "Is Belle Metal Without Ring—Thought it Only a Mock Marriage."

A characteristic Chicago story was about a builder who was asked when he could undertake a contract for erecting a church. "I can't do it at once," he answered. "I have a house to build to-day and a market to-morrow; but maybe I could put up your church day after to-morrow." The expedition suggested in this story is matched in reality by the reported feat of contractors in Toledo, Ohio. They put up a five-room house, with bath-room, in twelve hours. More than two hundred workmen were employed. The house was a wedding gift from the Toledo Real Estate Board to one of its employees, and cost $4,000.

The terms "madam" and "sir" are now employed much less than formerly, according to a book called "The A B C of Correct Speech;" though, it says, children "should be taught to use these terms in speaking to ladies and gentlemen of the old school." "Lady" has also passed out of use in circles in which it was formerly current—except, curiously, the author observes, when a hostess talks to "her caterer or her maids." To them she describes her guests as "ladies," while to her friends they are "women" or "girls."

Until Mr. Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency, says John T. Richards in his just published book on "Abraham Lincoln," there were comparatively few who knew that his Christian name was Abraham. Up to that time he habitually signed his name "A. Lincoln," and it was not uncommon to see his name in print as "Abram" Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln himself acknowledged the existence of the doubt in the public mind as to his given name, and when he was nominated wrote a letter settling the question in favor of "Abraham."

In The Outlook of May 3 a slip of the pen made the Civil War begin on April 19, 1865, instead of 1861. April 19, 1865, may be said rather to mark the close of the Civil War, for on that date occurred the funeral services over President Lincoln's body in Washington, with accompanying memorial services throughout the country.

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